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JUNE NUMBER.

THE NEW AGE

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ZETLAND'S ULTIMATUM

Through the mouth of the Secretary of State, British Imperialism has announced in clear and unmistakable terms its determination to enforce the federal scheme on the Indian people. Speaking at the Bombay dinner in London towards the end of the last month, Lord Zetland stated,

"There is not the least likelihood of His Majesty's Government or of Parliament being willing to consider before even the Federation has come into operation, any alteration in its structure,"

A New Turn

By itself, the speech and the announcement contains nothing which we do not expect the imperialists to say. *But its significance as a new turn in the policy of British Imperialism, becomes clear only when we view it against the background of the events since Haripura.* On the eve of Haripura India was visited by Lord Lothian—who came not as a casual visitor but as Imperialism's trusted emissary. He observed the working of the Provincial Autonomy especially in the Congress Provinces, met Gandhiji and other National leaders and made an important statement before he left India. He attempted to indicate the utmost limit to which British Imperialism was prepared to modify the Federal scheme with the object of accommodating the Congress.

Lord Lothian indicated that it would be possible to so modify the scheme that the States entering the Federation would have some sort of representative institutions, that the States' representatives in the federal Assembly could be elected by the States' people—the prince reserving the right of veto—and finally that the question of the special responsibilities of the Viceroy could be tackled in the same way as in the case of the provincial Cabinets. Same sort of assurance from the Viceroy could be forthcoming. A possibility of having the representatives of the British provinces elected by a direct election was also suggested.

Lord Lothian's statement was undoubtedly a feeler.

Imperialism wanted to find out the minimum terms for 'co-operation' which it could hope to secure from the extreme right wing of the National Congress. Lord Lothian's terms got a universally hostile press reception. But his visit and his interviews with the National leaders did serve to show that imperialism was in a bargaining mood. This cue was taken by the compromising section of the Cogress High Command. The resolution on the Federation with its main emphasis on the question of "the method of election to the Federal House" in the case of the Indian States participating

in the Federation, and the Resolution on the States itself, shows that there was an eagerness to stress the "practical" aspect of the question. *These resolutions, although they rejected the federal scheme in toto and put forward the slogan of the Constituent Assembly as against the slave constitution, also left a loophole for an eventual compromise.*

Two Tactics.

The Congress High Command is keenly conscious of the fact that British imperialism menaced by a war-crisis in Europe, is prepared to grant sectional concessions in exchange for a guarantee of internal peace in India. But two opposing conclusions and lines of action are being deduced from this fact. On the one hand, it is correctly argued by Nehru that *we cannot rely upon the weakness of the enemy alone, we must develop our own mass strength* and struggle for the final battle against the Federation. On the other hand the extreme right argue that the conditions are so favourable that mere unity and preparedness for struggle are enough to give us what we want. Two alternative lines follow. Firstly the line of developing mass—struggle to fight the federation—the line of unifying the anti-imperialist struggle in the British provinces with the struggle of the States' people for democratic rights, into a common struggle for a united, free and democratic republic in India. The other,—the line of denial of mass-struggle, of confining all opposition to Imperialism to constitutional plane, of liquidating all extra-parliamentary forms of struggle.

The choice has to be made now before it is too late. Already the effects of the drift towards constitutionalism are clearly visible. It has emboldened the reactionaries of all shades all over the country to unite and resist the working out of the Congress election programme. *It is not an accident that Lord Zetland who comes out with such an insolent challenge to the Indian people,* (which even the 'Times' finds 'tactless') *should devote the major part of his speech in fulsome praise of the Bombay Congress Ministry.* The Secretary of State is glad to note that the services and the Ministers together, make a happy family, that the ministers realise that "liberty is not license" and that "they are prepared to enforce law where and when necessary". Nothing can please a seasoned imperialist like Zetland that our ministers give the bureaucracy a free hand to crush the agitation for the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act, to jail Congressmen and socialists who dared to organise demonstrations and strikes for the release of political prisoners, and to flog politicals in jail, to break their patriotic fervour.

Zetland's sabre-rattlings should serve as a reminder to all those who pin their faith on the possibility of a favourable compromise, who have the illusion that because of international difficulties British Imperialism would be forced to concede a considerable degree of political power to the Indian people. The conciliatory attitude shown by imperialism during the last two ministerial crises, and in the statement of Lord Lothian was due to the fear of a major clash with the entire national forces.

At the same time, Imperialism hoped by this very attitude to strengthen the hands of compromisers so that the national movement could be drawn into the rut of constitutionalism.

Whether the agents of Imperialism talk in terms of conciliation or of threats, they have one single object in view. They want to make compromise with the bourgeois section of the leadership on their own terms—and use them to split the ranks of the peoples' struggle—to extend the span of the life of imperialist domination in India. Zetland's speech marks a change in tune—from that of conciliation to that of coersion. What are the factors which have contributed towards this change?

A regimented India for War.

For one, thing the war-crisis is now very rapidly maturing in Europe and British

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imperialism wants a firmly regimented India in the rear, before it enters into the deadly conflict. A reactionary central federal authority has become an urgent necessity; secondly inspite of the dominance of the constitutional trend inside the leadership of the National Congress, the struggle and the consciousness of millions of workers and peasants is daily taking higher and broader forms; the pressure of the left who are consistently fighting to overcome the conciliatory trend, is increasing inside the Congress, by the united National Front. This pressure is now being keenly felt by the bureaucracy and the anti-national vested interests outside the Congress. Imperialism wants to stop this development before it is too late. Thirdly, inspite of the isolationist attitude consistently adopted by the Congress High Command towards the States peoples' movement, the struggle of the democratic forces in these preserves of feudal rule, is spreading fast. For a time this pressure came in handy. It could be used to get the Princes to agree to hang the trappings of "responsible government" round the naked obscenity of State autocracy. But the development, if allowed to go unchecked, may well over-shoot its mark. That is why Zetland now announces that "it is for the princes themselves to decide "whether" some element of popular choice as distinct from pure nomination should enter into the selection of those who represent the Princes".

Bourgeoisie press forward.

Lastly, inside the framework of the growing offensive of the Indian people, the Indian bourgeoisie itself is pressing forward its own demands and obtaining a popular support for them. We may cite only recent examples. The Indian merchant class has recently conducted a successful fight against British capital in South Africa (Zanzibar) which wanted to oust Indian merchants from the clove trade. The Indian Textile capitalists have rejected the Lancashire pact and have resisted the effort of the British Cotton Kings to win back their lost textile market in India. The Indian bourgeoisie has demanded that they should have the right to pass discriminative measures against foreign capital, including British—in order to foster the growth of purely Indian enterprise. The Working Committee put forward this demand. They demand reservation of coastal trade for Indian shipping. Finally they have decided through the Premiers' Conference which was held in Bombay last month that all the seven Congress Ministries and legislatures should put forward the demand for the re-habilitation of the old ratio of 1sh. 4d. per Rupee.

There are unmistakable signs of the war-armament boom rapidly giving place to a slump—to a new economic crisis. *British imperialism therefore is in no mood to grant these demands of the Indian capital.* It must resist them and must set in motion that apparatus—the federation—which was specially designed for that purpose. Under the special responsibility powers which the Viceroy is invested with, under the Federal Scheme, all these demands get automatically steam-rollered. That is why Zetland is so insistent in not changing a comma in the federal scheme.

Imperialist Counter offensive.

Zetland's speech must be taken as the announcement of the counter offensive of British Imperialism against the growing strength of the united peoples' struggle. While His Lordship thunders over the dinner table in London, his henchmen here are busy building up the plank and rear of his counter revolutionary front. The Zamindars of Oudh have joined hands with the capitalists of Cawnpore and are forming a united front to fight national forces under the plea of fighting socialism and communism. They have raised the bogey of "Red Gold" behind the Cawnpore strike.

Their object is to carry out an organised campaign against the U.P. Tenancy Bill and to break the unity of Congress and labour which stands as an invincible guarantee of the success of the fight of the Cawnpore workers against the recalcitrant Textile capitalists.

Counter-revolutionaries active.

There is a general rallying of anti-national elements. The enemies of the people want to disrupt the growing unity of the Congress with the workers and peasants organisations. The ignominious circular of that imperialist agent J. D. Jenkins was recently flashed across the columns of the daily press. The "leaking out" of this extremely crude document was in all probability engineered by the author himself. The object of the "exposure" was to give currency to slandarous lies about National leaders, to provoke disruption. In this object it has miserably failed. But what the document did show was that there exists in India an organisation financed by Princes and reactionaries which prints and circulates tons of anti-communist and anti-socialist leaflets in vernaculars and attempts to circulate them among the people. Such leaflets are distributed in thousands in the industrial area of Bombay. A paper run by two individuals who have been discredited and driven out of the working class movement of Bombay for their anti-working class and disruptive activities prints this stuff. No wonder that reactionary mill-owners like Messrs. Wadia, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir etc. are connected with such anti-national activity.

As we go to press we hear of the re-organisation Committee of the Chamber of Princes meeting in Bombay. Their object is no doubt to unite in order to make their entry into the federation possible on as reactionary terms as possible. Similarly the Muslim League executive has already concluded its deliberations in Bombay. The news we get of their deliberations is shocking. Mr. Jinnah with his rare collection of the reactionaries from all provinces has formulated a new set of 14 points. Their obvious purpose is to reject the united front offer of the National Congress—the sabotage of the united action of the Hindu Muslim masses against the federation.

This remarkable rally of the reactionaries forms a strikingly appropriate background music to Zetland's solo. Federation will and must be enforced, shouts his Lordship. His henchmen are falling in line to fight and disrupt the growing unity of the people getting ready for the final struggle against the slave constitution.

Unity the need of the hour.

Zetland's speech must be taken as an ultimatum. The Nation must take it up and prepare for the final and decisive battle against the slave constitution. The broadest unity of all the forces of national struggle is possible on the platform of the struggle against the imposition of the federation.

It must be achieved, and achieved quickly. Resolutions in the Assemblies rejecting the federal scheme are not enough. *The struggle against the federation must be carried to the masses.* A whirlwind campaign of preparatory agitation must be launched to organise the people for the decisive fight. *The rallying slogan of this campaign must be the demand of the Constituent Assembly.* Against the will of a Zetland stands the will of the united Indian people. Against the British-made federation we must put forward the peoples' right to decide their own government. This simple and straightforward appeal of the slogan of the Constituent Assembly will serve to weld the innumerable partial struggles which are taking place all over British India and the States into one single political struggle.

Jawaharlal Nehru has given the correct lead in his reply to Lord Zetland. "The question of the federation is not of such prime importance as the right of framing the Indian Consti-

tution. *Such a Constitution can only be framed by a Constituent Assembly— That is India's immediate demand."* Nehru's words should serve as a pointer to the next meeting of the Working Committee in June which must take up Zetland's challenge and begin clearing the boards for action.

BOOK REVIEW

Verbatim Report of Court Proceedings in the Case of the Anti Soviet "Bloc of Rights and Trotskyists."

(English Edition). Published by the Peoples Commissariat of Justice of the U. S. S. R. Distributors for the British Empire: Lawrence and Wishart, Parton Street London W. C. 1.

BY J. ALPARI

TROTSKY, BUKHARIN AND THEIR CONFEDERATES: CHIEF INSTIGATORS OF A FASCIST WORLD WAR

The complete exposure of Trotsky and his fellow-conspirators as agents of fascism is one of the most important results of the Moscow Trial, full details of which are given in the verbatim report now published. Fascism is out to destroy all the achievements of democracy, all the achievements of the working class; and Trotsky, Bukharin and the rest of them offer themselves as its agents and assistants, in order that German fascism in particular, the most bloodthirsty and barbaric of all varieties of fascism, should become the ruler of Europe.

These fascist agents are quite aware that fascism's lust for conquest, if it is not checked, must sooner or later lead to war, in fact, to a world conflagration. Nevertheless not only do they not shrink from this monstrous crime, but they deliberately work to let loose this terrible disaster for mankind. They undertake the role, if the word can be permitted in this connection—of instigator. They wish to accelerate in every possible way the outbreak of war. They regard war as the only way by which they can come to power.

Let us hear what the accused themselves say.

It must be noted here that Trotsky at Meran gave the guiding line; at the price of territorial concessions to purchase the aid of the German armed forces, and with this aid to obtain power. Krestinsky was closely cross-examined at the seventh session. But already at the first session Bessonov, formerly Charge d'Affaires of the U. S. S. R. in Berlin, told of the meeting at Meran, which he had arranged.

At the same time he told the Court what Trotsky himself had said to him at the end of July 1934.

Vyshinsky: What did you and Trotsky say about your underground Trotskyist tasks?

Bessonov: He imposed on his followers working in the diplomatic field the task of adopting the line of sabotaging official agreements, in order to stimulate the interest of the Germans in unofficial agreements with opposition groups ....He said we must not stop short at consenting to big cessions of territory.

Vyshinsky: Which exactly?

Bessonov: "We shall consent to the cession of the Ukraine," Trotsky said. 'Bear that in mind in your work and,

in your negotiations with the Germans, and I shall also write about it to Pyatakov and Krestinsky. He then dealt with questions connected with the work of the Trotskyist organisations in the Soviet Union, and particularly stressed the fact that, under conditions, when an inevitable war was brewing, the only possible way in which the Trotskyists could come to power was by the defeat of the Soviet Union in that war.

The agreement between Trotsky and the German fascists was in fact concluded, in which it was not only arranged what should be done in the event of a war, but it was also agreed to hasten the outbreak of war. The same Bessonov told of a conversation with Krestinsky in the autumn of 1936, when Pyatakov and Radek were already arrested. Bessonov was to inform Trotsky of the difficult situation of his followers.

Bessovnov: He asked me even to repeat it twice to show whether I understood him, when he said that the situation of the Trotskyists in the Soviet Union in the autumn of 1936 must be regarded as extremely serious and that the agreement reached by the Trotskyists with the German National Socialist Party on the possibility of hastening war which would facilitate the coming to power of the Trotskyists, must be expedited at all costs.

At the second session Grinko stated:

"Gradually extending my connections with the Right and Trotskyist Centre, and having ascertained who belonged to it, I at the beginning of 1934 formed an opinion of what the 'Right and Trotskyist Centre' was.

"From a number of conversations and connections, and the tasks I received from Rykov, Bukharin, Rosengoltz, Yagoda, and a number of other persons, it became clear to me that at that time the 'Right and Trotskyist Centre' based itself mainly on the military aid of the aggressors This was the common position of the Trotskyists, the Rights and the nationalist organisations, in particular of the Ukrainian nationalist organisations. This meant undermining the power of defence of the Soviet Union, undermining the activities in the army and in the defence industry, opening the front in the event of war and provoking this war; it meant extending connections with aggressive anti-Soviet elements abroad; it meant consenting to the dismemberment of the U.S.S.R. and compensating the aggressors at the expense of the border territories of the U.S.S.R."

Rosengoltz, who was one of Trotsky's most intimate associates, who in the first place worked in the sphere of espionage, economic espionage and sabotage, and who was also entrusted with the financing of the Trotskyist gangs abroad, openly admitted that Trotsky was working to launch a war against the Soviet Union.

Rosengoltz: I was abroad in 1933 and had a meeting with Sedov in Felden in Austria. I had several long conversations with him near the house where I lived. I next saw Sedov in 1934 in Karlsbad.

Vyshinsky: What was the substance of your conversations?

Rosengoltz: Sedov transmitted the following basic instructions from Trotsky. I shall here set forth the instructions which I received during my conversations with Sedov and which were transmitted through Krestinsky and in the main they coincided.

Vyshinsky: How was the question of war put on that occasion?

Resengoltz: In regard to war, Trotsky's line was for defeat.

In the course of the proceedings and in his final speech, Bukharin attempted to shift the main guilt on to the Trotskyists, especially on the question of instigating war. Nevertheless, when confronted with Ivanov he

(*Continued on page 36.*)

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Thesis On-

THE NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE WORKING CLASS

[The following thesis appeared as a draft in the *National Front* of 17 April. An addition has been made in para 5 and it is now being published as an authoritative thesis Ed.]

1. One of the basic weaknesses of the communists up to now has been that they have failed to function as an effective *political* force. We have achieved significant successes in the sphere of organising the Trade Unions, leading big struggles of the working-class and to some extent of the peasantry. But we have so far failed to come forward as a political force, actively participating in the struggle for National liberation, unifying and raising it to the level of a decisive battle against imperialism.

2. The *final* goal of the communists is undoubtedly socialism and we seek to achieve it by creating the power of the workers' and peasants' Soviets in India. But *the immediate task before us is the liberation of the Indian people and the creation of a democratic regime.* This is the main objective which unites the overwhelming majority of our people in the common struggle against the main enemy—British imperialism. The urge for independence and democracy is the driving-force behind the masses who in their millions to-day are rallying under the banner of the Indian National Congress. The main slogans of this united national struggle are: wrecking the Slave Constitution, convening a Constituent Assembly to determine the Constitution of a free India, the guaranteeing of basic democratic rights and liberties and the securing of a decent standard of life and labour for all.

3. *The Indian proletariat will not be able to fit itself for the task of the social emancipation of the toiling masses unless it participates in the political struggle which is raging in our country, unless it comes forward as the boldest champion of the democratic rights of the Indian people as a whole, unless it flings itself into the front rank of the struggle for freedom which is going on under the leadership of the National Congress, broadening and unifying it into the whole people' struggle against the rule of foreign imperialism.*

4. In the anti-imperialist struggles of 1930-32, the communists on the whole remained isolated from the broad national movement. We correctly saw in every clash and mass rising the symptoms of the revolutionisation of the masses. But, in the words of Dimitrov, we "overestimated the speed at which the masses were abandoning the position of reformism." We failed to be in the struggle and with the masses, failed to understand the depth and forms of their national sentiment, and failed to speak in terms of the existing level of consciousness of the people, in order to successfully interpret to them the experiences of the struggle. "The power of traditional contacts between the masses and the organisations and leaders have been underestimated and when the masses did not break off these contacts immediately, the attitude taken towards them was just as harsh as towards their reactionary leaders". This sentence of Dimitrov sums up correctly and briefly the mistakes in the attitude adopted

towards the National Congress and its leaders in those days.

5. From the Swarajist days of 1926-27 to the present day *the National Congress* has travelled a long road. From a narrow parliamentary platform and an organisation of welfare workers to which it had shrunk after the Non-cooperation days of 1920-22, it *has grown into the central mass political organisation of the Indian people ranged against imperialism.* The mass-struggles of the days and the C.D. movement of 1930-32 set a process of transformation in motion. With the broading of the Congress which came about during the course of the struggle and through subsequent developments. the characterisation of the Congress as a bourgeois organisation became more and more inadequate. We failed to understand, anticipate and guide this process because we isolated ourselves from the masses under Congress influence who participated in this struggle led by the Congress.

With its three million membership, controlling electoral majorities in the major parts of British India, and with its tradition of having led country-wide mass movements against imperialism, the Indian National Congress, stands out in the eyes of the masses, especially the rural masses, as the champion of their struggle against imperialist tyranny. *It has achieved the growing unity of the Indian people on the basis of a programme which corresponds to the needs of the overwhelming majority of our people and also to the present stage of our anti—imperialist struggle.* The formulation that the Congress is a bourgeois organisation and as such unsuitable to be the basis for building the Anti—Imperialist People's Front is wrong in the given situation, to-day.

On the other hand, we must take our stand on the thesis of Dutt and and Bradley which asks us to *broaden the unity already achieved under the Indian National Congress and transform it into the unity of the National Front of the Indian People fighting for independence and democray.*

6. The dominant leadership of the National Congress undoubtedly reflects the interests of the industrial bourgeoisie and other *national* sections of the vested interests. It does not consistently draw out and guide mass activity in order to develop the national struggle to the pitch of a decisive battle against imperialism. It seeks to arrive at short term compromises with the imperialists, while endeavouring at the same time to preserve its mass basis and mass influence. But with the increasing strength and sweep of the mass movements of the workers and peasants, and the broad popular movement for the release of political prisoners, and with the growing strength of the Left Wing inside the Congress itself, the possibility of *checking* the vacillations of the leadership has increased more than ever before. The increasing offensive of war-mongering British imperialism, seeking to impose the fetters of the Federation on the growing needs and aspirations of the Indian people including the industrial bourgeoisie, is a factor which is also working in the same direction. The leftward swing of the Congress organisation as a whole is reflected in the Left trend of a section of the leadership itself. This means, that *by making a determined effort to broaden the basis of the Congress and by uniting with its activities, in an increasing measure the political mass actions of workers and peasants, it would be possible to hurl the entire strength of the United National Front against imperialism, and in the process successfully neutralise the conciliatory drift of a part of the leadership. In other words, the possibility of our entering the National Congress in order to strengthen it, without allowing any section of its leadership to split off, is greater than ever.*

7. With the acceptance of Ministries by the Congress, new possibilities opened up. It would be absolutely incorrect to

say that the acceptance has transformed the Congress into an ally of imperialism or made the Congress Ministries parts of the imperialist state. Precisely because theCongress is the leading anti-imperialist organisation in the country, precisely because the Congress Ministers are pledged to carry out its programme of national liberation, it becomes possible today to develop mass initiative to quicken the tempo of the movement, to take full advantage of the extension of democratic liberties in order to use the use the Ministerial offices to strengthen the extra-parliamentary mass movement. The Congress Ministries are not allies of imperialismand cannot become so, as long as they remain Congress Ministries. They are an integral part of the United National Front. While every act of theirs which restricts and hampers the peoples movement has to be criticised, the character of the criticism would be entirely different from that against the *anti national* elements out side the National Congress. The Congress is our organisation, and therefore the Congress Ministers are peoples' ministers. Experience has shown that they can be moved by the pressure of mass mobilisation. Therefore, while definitely rejecting the tactic of confining political action to the constitutional plane, we must at the same time boldly come out in defence of every progressive measure initiated by the Congress Ministers and develop the force of the mass movement to get the Ministries to implement the national programme and with this popular extra-parliamentary strength behind them help the Ministries to break the anti-democratic resistance of the bureaucracy and the anti-national vested interests.

8. *The communists must make a sharp turn towards the path of national political action and for this end we must begin to work whole heartedly with and within the National Congress.* We must actively participate in anti-imperialist demonstrations organised by the Congress, and seek to convert them into United Front demonstrations of workers and peasants organisations with the National Congress. We must actively strive to broaden the base of the Congress in towns and in villages by linking up the daily work of the local units of the Congress with the local grievances of workers and pesants and their struggle for the redress of the same. By our direct participation in, and effective leadership of, the daily struggles of the workers, peasants, and other sections of our people we must convert the Congress *units* into real defenders of the exploited and oppressed people against the bureaucracy and the anti-national vested interests, into living units of the United National Front in action, achieving in this way the prints of collective affilation in practice before it is formally secured.

9. *It would not be possible for the communists to become a political force in the Country unless we make a decisive turn in our whole attitude towards the Indian National Congress,* unless we become a decisive force inside the Congress itself unifying the entire Left and its socialist core to implement the policy of building up the United National Front on the basis of the National Congress and of which policy, we must come forward as the most consistent and sincere champions. Not only must every one of us become a member of the Congress, but we must launch an intense campaign for the individual enrolment of workers en-masse in the Congress. The enrolment campaign must be conducted under the slogans:

(1) Strengthen the Congress to fight the imposition of the Federation.

(2) The Congress must support and defend the demands of the working masses and their right of organisation.

(3) Democratise the Congress and develop local initiative of the primaries in holding United Front demonstrations and in organising and supporting United Front actions.

ARE WE HEADING TOWARDS A NEW ECONOMIC CRISIS?

By E. Varga

It is now a year since the first signs of a new economic crisis appeared in the United States. In March, 1937, the production of consumers' goods in the U.S.A. reached its highest point. The market was insufficient to absorb the mass of goods. These began to accumulate, and production was restricted. After a few months, in September, 1937, the crisis extended to the manufacture of producers' goods, thus making itself universally felt.

We are now in a position to establish, beyond all doubt, that the present crisis in the U.S.A. is developing much more rapidly than did that of 1929. This can be seen from the following figures :—

Peak Level, 1937 (1929=100)	Jan, 1938.	Percentage decline
Total production of industry..........99.2 (May)	68.1	31
Production of consumers' goods ....102.6 (March)	79.9	22
Manufactures of Producers' goods ...104·1 (August)	47.1	56

During the previous crisis, the decline in industrial production over an equal period of time (May, 1929 to January, 1930) amounted only to 22 Per cent. In the present crisis it is 31 per cent. The manufacture of producers' goods show a particularly sharp decline. As the above figures show, it fell by no less than half, over a period of five months.

The reasons for the rapidity of this decline in the manufacture of producers' goods are partly economic and partly political. The economic basis is constituted by the fact that the production apparatus is not being exploited to anything like its full capacity. This is one of the chief characteristics of the general crisis of capitalism. The decline in production is increased by causes of a political nature. The biggest monopolies—the most reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie of the U.S.A.—exploited the crisis in order to increase their pressure on the working class, and to intensify their struggle against Roosevelt's taxation legislation. The factories are dismissing workers wholesale, and thus making the crisis more acute. We learn from reliable sources that the number of unemployed in the U.S.A. already exceeds 13 millions.

There is as yet no complete information available regarding the economic situation in February and March. The daily index of the New York Times shows a fresh decline of 2 to 3 per cent. for February, as against the January figures. Activity in the building trade continues to be negligible. The enormous growth in the numbers of unemployed diminishes the capacity of the market for consumers' goods; under these circumstances it seems most probable that the crisis will be intensified during the next few months.

The United States are responsible for 40 to 50 per cent. of the indus-

trial production of the whole capitalist world. It is not surprising, therefore, that the total level of world production has fallen sharply, under the influence of the crisis in the U.S.A. This decline would be even greater were it not for the enormous armament expenditure of a number of countries, which have created a temporary additional demand for goods.

The economic situation of the European countries is full of discrepancies and contradictions. On the one hand it is affected by the development of the present conditions of crisis, and the development of this crisis in the U.S.A. while on the other it is influenced by the enormous rearmament programmes.

The curve of industrial production is as follows :—

	Peak Level 1937 (1929=100)	December 1937
All capitalist countries	106.8(May)	89.1
Capitalist countries of Europe	112.1(Nov.)	109.7

What is shown by these figures? They indicate that from 1929 to 1937 the rate of development of industrial production was retarded. In comparison with the highest point in 1929, this development amounts to only a few per cent less than the growth of population in the capitalist countries.

Further, these figures show that the decline in production did not begin in Europe until the end of 1937. The statistics, which refer to all the most important capital countries, demonstrate that the crisis is developing in Europe also. But the situation in the various countries is most varied and full of contradictions.

In a number of European countries the beginning of the new crisis came up against the consequences of the crisis of 1929 which were not yet overcome. Thus industrial production in France, Belgium, Holland, Poland and Czechoslovakia was, during the whole of 1937, considerably below the level of 1929. In Great Britain, the Scandinavian countries and a few small States, production was considerably above that of 1929. Thus, the slump was more noticeable in these countries.

Let us first examine the situation of Great Britain; for this country is of great importance for the whole of the capitalist world market. Statistics regarding the economic position of *Great Britain* are contradictory. The official Board of Trade index shows an increase in production during the last quarter, while the index of *the Economist* shows a slow and steady decline during the last six months.

Taking 1935 as equalling 100, the index gives the following figures; September, 1937, 113; November, 112.5; December, 111; January 1938, 111; February, 110. In reality the slump is more serious than appears from these figures, since there is usually some slight improvement at the beginning of the year.

There is a sharp decline in building activity. The number of building contracts is less by a quarter than in the corresponding months of the year 1937.

The recession in Great Britain can be seen with special clarity from the state of the labour market. During the last six months, the number of workers employed fell by more than 400,000 and the number of workers un-employed officially registered rose by 540,000. According to official statistics, there are in Great Britain, 1,800,000 completely unemployed. In reality there are more than 2,000,000.

The development of the crisis is also admitted more or less openly in the bulletins of the large British Banks. Thus, for example, we read in Llyods Bank monthly review for March:

" There is no doubt that the first two months of the year have witnessed

a definite recession in trade and employment."

We read in the Midland Bank review for February and March:

"Everyone who is at the moment following the course of the boom, is faced by the question: has a serious and decisive decline commenced, or is it a matter only of a slight fall from the level reached in the previous year? There is a wealth of material, and the statements of business people show that arguments can be found to justify both points of view. Those who adhere to the first standpoint are carefully watching the growth of the numbers of unemployed."

The crisis would have developed much more rapidly, had it not been for the enormous expenditure on armaments, which occupies considerable sections of British industry, especially heavy industry.

A similar situation may be observed in those bourgeois countries in Europe where the level of production is considerably higher than that of 1929. The crisis has not yet advanced openly, but there are numerous signs that the economic situation is becoming worse.

The economy of the fascist countries possesses some unique chracteristics; the production of these countries is to a great degree adapted to war purposes. Here the enormous demand for all kinds of war materials has hindered the development of a crisis. This demand is produced both by the armament programme and by the wars which are being waged in Spain, China, and Abyssinia. But, during the last few months a decline in production has set in, as it has become more difficult to find a foreign market for goods, and thus an appreciable shortage of important raw materials, has arisen.

This is most apparent in Japan. For six months now, no official figures have been published, but it can be seen from newspapers that lack of raw materials has led to a sharp decline in production, in all branches of industry not concerned with war production. In the factories not engaged on war production there is a "metal famine". Strict regulations (ration system) for the use of iron have been introduced. No iron has been allocated for building purposes since October, 1937.

The textile industry is suffering from a shotage of wool and cotton, which have to be imported. Articles of pure cotton are manufactured only for export. The articles destined for the home market are adulterated by the use of substitutes. But there is a shortage of the materials necessary for the production of these substitutes, namely, of wood and cellulose.

Japanese supplies of foreign currency have fallen still more, in consequence of the sharp decline of the yen, and of the shrinkage of the export markets for silk and silk goods. The price of raw silk fell from 95 yen per bale in January, 1937, to 69·9 in January 1938. The export of cotton goods is also declining, in spite of all the efforts of the Government and the capitalists. Thus Japanese industry has less and less foreign currency at its disposal for the purchase of raw materials.

"Production in all branches of industries which are not occupied with the production of war materials, which are absolute necessity, is being restricted more and more in consequence of the shortage of raw materials, brought about by the decline in imports".

Prices are falling on the world market and Japanese industry derives a steadily declining income from exports. At the same time, prices within the country are rising, in consequence of the shortage of goods. In this way all the burdens of the crisis fall on the shoulders of the working masses.

The economic situation in Germany also is characterised by the same features. As a result of the crisis, the competition of the industries of the U.S.A. Great Britain, and Belgium, is

making itself felt more and more in the market of producers' goods. Hence the over-production of goods for export. The import of foreign raw materials becomes more and more difficult on account of the shortage of foreign currency, and interruptions in production, caused by lack of raw materials, become more and more frequent. Even the falsified statistics of the fascists cannot conceal the worsening of the economic situation of Germany.

try has been reorganised on a war footing to such an extent that it would be risky to draw an analogy on the basis of previous experience.

Thus we see that the crisis in the U.S.A. exceeds, in the extent of its development, that of 1929. There are no signs of any improvement. In Great Britain and a number of other countries, the crisis is developing slowly. In these fascist countries which are at war—Japan, Germany and Italy it is assuming a peculiar form, and all

	1937 Nov. & Dec.			1938 January
Number employed (in millions)	18·91	18·07	...	18·04
Number of unemployed (in thousands)	573	995	...	10·52
index of industrial production (1928=100).	127·2	121·7	...	116·2
ndex of producers goods (1928=100)	136·7	126·9	...	116·8
Index of consumers' goods (1928=100).	110·7	108·7	...	106·7
Index of number of hours worked (1936=100).	117·2	114·3	...	108·4

The worsening of the economic situation of fascist Germany is established beyond doubt. It can as yet not be said definitely that this indicates the beginning of the crisis. German indus-

its burdens are being shifted on to the shoulders of the working masses to a much greater extent than this takes place in the bourgeois democratic countries.

M. N. ROY AND THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

A. K. Ghosh.

There are still people who seriously believe that our acceptance of the slogan of Constituent Assembly, our making it the central rallying slogan of the present stage of National struggle is a concessson to Royism, that it was Roy, who first put forth this slogan, and later, those who opposed him at first gathered enough sense and saw their mistake. The purpose of this article is to examine the claim of Roy and his followers to have formulated the slogan of Constituent Assembly in the way in which it has today come to be accepted by all anti-imperialist forces.

Roy and his followers in June 1930, under the signatures of Brajesh Singh, Kabadi and Sheikh issued a statement on the Constituent Assembly.

"The central political slogan of the

Indian revolution should be the election of the Constituent Assembly....."

"The local Congress Committees broadened through the inclusion of delegates from workers, peasants and small traders' organisations should become *units for election to the Constituent Assembly.*"

In this document the exact character of the Constituent Assembly, who should call it, when it would be convened, have not been clearly stated but the composition has been fixed. "The local Congress Committees broadened... shall be units"...The C.A. will be elected not by the entire populace, nor even by the toiling masses but by Congress members.

Roy, however, was clever enough to realise that such a formulation would not be acceptable to the Marxists whose support he was striving to win. His whole attention at this period was focussed on the most advanced section of the proletariat whom he attempted to tear away from Marxist influence and bring them under the influence of the Congress leadership. In March 1931, therefore, he declared:

"as soon as the necessity for capturing power is recognised, the forging of weapons for the purpose must begin. The oppressed and exploited masses must create their own *organs for challenging the authority of the existing regime* ...Organising themselves respectively the oppressed and exploited classes shall set up *joint Committees* for conducting the struggle for the capture of power. Eventually the slogan will be issued for these local revolutionary Committees to send delegates to a national sovereign body to establish the free national state and promulgate its fundamental laws according to the interest of its constituents. The call for the election of the Contituent Assembly will be the signal for insurrection only out of which can the free national state arise. *An organ of revolutionary democratic power,* growing out of the insurrection involving the masses is the first condition for real national freedom..." (Masses—March 10th, 1931).

"*Joint Committees* for conducting struggle for the capture of power"—this is red rag to the Royists today. How can the Congress form "Joint Committees" with other organisations? Is not that belittling the Congress and encroaching upon its sovereign and sole right to represent the masses? But that apart.

Local Congress Committees as units of the Constitutent Assembly have given place within 18 months (June' 30 to Sept' 31) to Joint Committees. But even more important than this, is the repudiation of the character of the Constituent Assembly made earlier.

"The popular organs for the capture of power cannot embrace the entire population because the upper classes are opposed to a revolutionary struggle for power. They want to make a compromise with imperialism with the object of sharing power with it. By agreeing to be a party to this compromise the Congress leaders also come out in opposition to the struggle for capture of power by the masses. This fact must be clearly grasped by the revolutionary rank and file striving for national freedom. This being the case, the argument advanced from *some quarters* that the *Congress is the organ for the capture of power loses all force*" (italics mine)

Why does Roy speak so vaguely about 'some quarters'? Who advanced the argument? What was his formulation of the constitutent assembly 15 months ago?

Roy does not clearly State whether the Constituent Assembly is the organ of struggle, or the organ of power, or the organ of struggle growing into the organ of power. On this all important point he prefers to remain vague. The next few lines in the document land one in a morasss of confusion and bewilderment.

"Even if the Congress adopted the programme of national revolution, and consequently led the struggle for the capture of power, it could not itself be the *organ of power*. In that case it would be the revolutionary Party leading the masses in the struggle for power which should be captured not by the Party but by the masses."

But if the Congress can *in no case* be the organ of power, will the Constituent Assembly be the organ of power? Roy gives contradictory replies to this question in the course of his thesis. "Eventually the slogan will be issued for these *local revolutionary committees* to send delegates to a *National Sovereign Body* to establish the free national state......"

"The National Sovereign Body to establish the free national state" can only mean the Organ of power. And this body is elected not by the people as a whole by revolutionary joint committees. But Roy states that power must be captured *by the masses* and not by the Party. So the Constituent Assembly, according to Roy *is not the organ of power*.

A YEAR LATER

"The signal for the election of the National Constituent Assembly by the Committees of oppressed classes...The local forces of the imperialist State must be overwhelmed and local organs of power (police stations law courts etc.) destroyed. The first action of the committee will be to issue decrees enforcing the demands of oppressed and *exploited classes*. The apparatus of the imperialist state broken down . it will not be able to resist the revolution. It will be overwhelmed by the democratic masses, whose representatives will victoriously meet in the CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY to set up the new state of *Democratic Dictatorship*."

"The first Act of the Constituent Assembly will be to issue decrees recognising the local revolutionary committees as the basic units of the new State. Then the fundamental law of the new State will be enacted on the basis of the following principles :

1. Transfer of all power to the *oppressed and exploited classes*..." (Italics mine) ("Our Task"—Page 92-93)

Here the Constituent Assembly can mean nothing other than the *Organ of power* supplanting the Imperialist State machinery. Further it will *not be elected on the basis of universal suffrage* as Roy makes clear in the previous page It will be the *Dictatorship of the toilers*. As we have already stated, Roy at this period was attempting to win the support of Communists and form a "Communist Party" independent of and in opposition to the Communist International. The central slogan of the Communists was Workers' and Peasant' Soviets. Roy, while retaining the *name* Constituent Assembly shred the slogan of all its *bourgeois democratic content* in order to make it appear that by Constituent Assembly he meant Soviet Power!

Seven years later Roy again reverts to the slogan "Transform the Congress into the Constituent Assembly." (Independent India 20th Feb '38)

On the all-important questions, who will elect the Constituent Assembly, what shall be its character when shall it beconvened, etc, Roy has never given a clear reply. He cannot, because his slogans are not based on the needs of the movement. He caters today for the support of this section and to-morrow of that. Hence the need for vagueness for inconsistent formula-tions. His deviations his constant swings from ultra-left to extreme right positions are the logical results of his complete break from Marxism.

6. The Seventh Congress of the Commintern met under conditions profoundly different from those prevailing at the time of the 6th Congress. Taking into account the changes that had taken place in the internationa arena, the Congress under the leaderl

ship of Stalin and Dimitrov laid down the line for the broadest united front ever attempted in history. The line was concretised by comrades Bradley and Dutt for application in India. How did they formulate the Constituent Assembly Slogan?

Corresponding to the existing stages of the movement, the time is now undoubtedly favourable to launch as our central slogan the demand for the convening of a Constituent Assembly based upon universal and equal franchise and direct and secrect ballot.

"At a time when the British Government is imposing the new constitution of slavery upon the Indian Nation and preparing for its mockery of elections from which the voice of the people is excluded...it is essential to spread, broadcast in opposition to the line of of imperialism the demand for a Constituent Assembly freely elected on the basis of universal suffrage,"

Here the demand for the Constituent Assembly is the concretisation of the demand for independence' the slogan generalising the struggle for democratic rights.

How did the Bolsheviks in Tsarist Russia formulate the demand for a Constituent Assembly?

Immediately after the 'Bloody Sunday' in 1905, Lenin wrote, "The demand of the rebellious St. Petersburg workers—theimmediate convocation of a Constituent Assembly on the basis of *universal direct and secrect suffrage* must become the demand of all striking workers.

"The people in revolt will overthrow all government institutions of Tsarist Autocracy and proclaim the immediate convocation of the Constituent Assembly."

The Constituent Assembly both in Lenis's and Comrades Dutt and Bradley's formulation is conceived of as the *"Organ of Power" of democratic power based on universal suffrage. This is the only correct historic f rmulation of the Constituent Assembly slogan.*

Why is it the correct slogan at the present stage of our national struggle? Because all sections of the Indian people see in Imperialism the most ruthless enemy of the material, cultural and political advancement of the country. Hatred against fôreign rule, desire to smash the slave constitution, and to establish a democratic regime are the common sentiments of all patriotic Indians. Therefore a slogan that expresses this common urge for democracy and freedom can alone be the *slogan of national unity against British Imperialism.* And it is this unity that is the need of the present stage of our movement.

The Constituent Assembly can establish a democratic regime only if it rises as the Sovereign body *on the basis of the overthrow of Imperialism,* as the Organ of Power supplanting the imperialist power.

The Constituent Assembly being the organ of power of the *entire people* and not of the toilers alone, no section of the people can be excluded *beforehand* from participating in it. Only traitors and counter-revolutionaries will be excluded. Therefore the Constituent Assembly must be based on Universal Suffrage.

It is only when the Constituent Assembly slogan is formulated in this correct manner that it becomes *the* rallying slogan of the day, the slogan *generalising the democratic demands of the people,* and therefore the *slogan of the United National Front against Imperialism.*

WHY A PEASANT MOVEMENT?

N. DUTTA—MAZUMDAR

A peasant movement is slowly gathering strength in Bengal.

There have been various attempts to explain this phenomenon—it is a phenomenon, for there has not been anything so widespread and organised like the present movement among the peasants for a whole generation—one among which is, that it is a creation of 'agitators'. Accordingly, the recipe of 'firm hand' that is to say of arrests and intimidation was tried. The recipe failed. So the theory could not be right; for if the movement were merely a creation of agitators how could it persist in spite of coercion?

There is a peasant movement, a growing peasant movement, because the peasants have a grievance or two—which the authorities cannot redress.

What is wrong with the peasants? Some say it is poverty. This is only partially true. A stationary poverty may create misery but it does not create a movement. A spontaneous movement occurs when conditions are changing—from bad to worse. The workers strike when there is a wage cut or a deterioration of the living stanard. A national movement is waged when imperialist oppression reaches its height. The peasant movement is no exception. The Bengal peasant movement exists and is growing, because the peasants are faced with intolerable conditions.

Te peasant must pay rent. Don't ask why, because that is sedition. But he has not the money with which to pay rent. Then let him starve on alternate days. But then, what about his debts? Shall he commit suicide? No, because then his son will have to borrow and bury him, and there will be still more debts to pay.

Let us understand this situation in detail.

CLASS STRUCTURE OF BENGAL

An analysis of the census figures of Bengal for 1931 on occupational basis shows:

Distribution of total population employed in some occupation.

Class	Number (whole figure)	%
Ordinary Cultivators	9,079,189	59
Workers	2,182,853	14
Employed in pasture, agriculture, etc.	650,607	4
Producers	11,912, 649	77
Petty bourgeois	1,581,424	10
Domestict servants	874,694	6
Landlords	783,755	5
Others	242,463	2
	15,394,985	100

The above table gives a neat picture of the kind of place we live in 77% of the people of Bengal are raising all its wealth, and 23% are absorbing or dissipating this wealth. But again, surely the domestic servants although not a wealth producing class do not take any appreciable share of the country's welath. The same is true of the bulk of the petty bourgeoisie. It then seems that 77% of the people raise all the wealth, and another 16% toil to keep the 5% of parasitic classes in reasonable comfort.

Who form the bulk of the producing classes? The peasants—82% of the producing classes and 59% of the total population of earning citizens.

Who form the bulk of the parasitic classes? The landlords—71% of the parasitic classes and 5% of the total earners.

Preponderance of Agriculture.

It seems natural that land should provide the main source of Bengal's economic wealth. Western Bengal has a rich soil flushed by soil rivers. Eastern Bengal has the world monopoly of Jute. Why should the Bengalee not depend on land?

The answer is, look at the peasant! Is it natural that starving, borrowing rack-rented and debt-enslaved as he is, he should still not give up his occupation and look for some better employment? No. But still the peasant holds on to land, because there *is* no better employment. There is no well-developed industry which can absorb that proportion of the peasantry which finds agriculture uneconomic.

Why is there not a well-developed basic industry in Bengal?

The mystical theory that the Bengalees are traditionally lazy does not fit facts. Industry has little to do with energy, but everything to do with profit. In the West industry yielded higher profits than either commerce or landlordism. So the ruling feature of Western economy came to be industry. In Bengal, landlordism paid well, while commerce meant giving battle to international pirates. So commerce was delayed. Then the Bengalee industry came into open conflict with the new-fangled machine industry of the West, backed by a powerful capitalist State which was also the political ruler of Bengal. The conflict brought death to Bengal's industry. Landlordism then meant peace and prosperity to the landlords while commerce and industry meant open warfare. Therefore, landlordism became the occupation of the Bengalee rich.

One fact strikes us when we study Bengalee landlordism.

"The Zamindars and independent Taluqdars of permanently settled estates pay land revenue to the extent of *2 crores and 15 lakhs* of rupees, and are proprietors of the bulk of the agricultural land of Bengal...

The ryots of these estates pay in rent about *8 crores 50 lakhs* of rupees. So the Zamindars and middlemen between them appropriate as much, at least as *6 crores 35, lakhs*. Or in other words, about 300% of the land renue is appropriated by those whose present position is nothing better than that of rent collectors." (*Land system of Bengal* p. 7 Naresh Chandra Sen-Gupta).

Paid by peasants as rent	Rs. 85000,000
Paid by landlords as revenue	21,500,000
Landlords' appropriation	63,500,000

i.e. about 300% of the revenue collected.

"In contrast to this *the* cost of collection in Government estates is on 9.5% of the land revenue realised" (*Land system of Bengal*).

One feels bound to ask himself: how is it that Government allows such a preposterously uneconomic system of *revenue* collecting as the Permanent settlement to exist, nay, to rule the country, while obviously the cheaper method is direct collection?

Clearly it is not due to oversight but it is intentional. There must be a reason for breeding these expensive sort of rent-collectors.

The original reason.

Lord Cornwallis created the first set of Landlords, i.e., rent-collectors of a permanent sort, to plant on India an aristocracy dependent on British power. This was a tried experiment on another country, Ireland. Ireland has given this class of people the name of ascendancy class, that is, a class whose prosperity depended on the ascendancy of the British in Ireland. The Indian "ascendancy class" was created to lend powerful support to the British, and also to create the basis for a permanent

exploitation of land which could not be built up by a foreign power unfamiliar with the exploited country.

Then came the industrial revolution in the West. India no longer supplied the world with muslin, but began to acquire importance as a market and as a raw material producing country. This destruction of the village handicrafts would have created a conflict between the landlords and Government if the landlords had been serf-owners. But to these modern landlords it did not matter whether the peasants sowed rice and wore hand-made clothes, or sowed indigo and wore machine-made clothes. The peasant was his own master so far as his own economics were concerned, the landlord had nothing to do with that. In other words, world economy, modified by the British occupation of India, was his master. But so far as his dues, in rupees annas and pies were concerned, the landlord was sure to collect those.

In this difficult period of India's transformation from a flourishing village community into a market and a raw material producing country, it was this purely money interest of the Cornwallis' landlords which made this class an invaluable ally of the Government, in its conflict with the peasants. The proceedings of the British India Association give ample evidence of that.

Bengal, then, is predominantly agricultural, not as a result of the natural course of things, but, in the first place due to a considered policy of the Government. While insuperable difficulties are placed in the way of industry and commerce, large tributes are offered to the landlords to keep Bengal's economics predominantly agricultural.

Unearned tributes.

These tributes are an unearned income. They differ from the investment of a capitalist in that there is no reinvestment. This is the result of the peculiarly contradictory character of Tenancy legislation.

The landlord like any other capitalist will only invest if he expects a return. If by improvement of land they could claim an enhanced rent, landlords would very willingly invest their money in supposed or real improvement. But, "there are only a limited class of works which can be deemed to be improvements" for which the landlord "is entitled to sue for enhancement of rent", but again the Court "may or may not compensate him adequately for improvements". As an instance, "If a landlord improves the profits of cultivation by introducing new and more profitable money crops, by organising collective cultivation on improved methods, or by starting a bank for providing cheap money, he has nothing to expect as a result of the increased profits of the tenantry." The writer adds "beyond perhaps an increased security for the due realisation of his fixed rent" (Land system of Bengal). Such security, of course, is nowhere paid for even in most advanced capitalist economy—because paying for security is planning, and planning is not capitalism.

At first sight it seems as though this were done to guard the interests of the peasants, against enhanced rent. It would be so, if Government provided some alternative methods for the improvement of land. But in the absence of any such schemes this piece of legislation discouraging improvement of cultivation, should be taken as a deliberate measure for throttling capitalist agriculture.

This fact becomes clearer when the problem is viewed from the point of view of the tenant. If the landlord is coerced economically to continue his parasitic existence rather than becoming a capitalist farmer, the tenant is further coerced by legal methods." In a recent case in Midnapore the

Government brought a suit for ejectment against a ryot because on his *bastu* * land he had erected a rice mill." This was because he deviated from the "established mode of user" of the land. He dare not improve on the methods by which his forefathers tilled his land! Not as long as the Bengal Tenancy Act remains. There is thus no danger of peasants growing into capitalist farmers like their Western brothers, because any such attempt would be a departure from the established mode in which the land was used. "If an irrigation tank was dug covering a whole holding, for the benefit of other lands in the village, it would be a clear case for ejectment as the tank would not be an improvement of *that holding*." (Land System of Bengal.)

* land on which a house is built.

13

ECONOMICS OF FREEDOM AND MONOPOLY

Promode Sen.

Says the *Statesman* leader of April 7:

"Many ways of looking at these matters"—i.e., at foreign investment in India—"are natural to people differently situated".

Situated as Statesman is, a hen amongst a brood of Scottish jute lords, it cannot but cluck the various virtues of foreign investment in India.

Situated as we are, on the side of the Indian people, who have studied the economic effects of the British Capitalist occupation of India at first hand, we are aple to give a picture of the other, the more important side.

The benefits of competition between the Lion and the mouse.

Deploring the one-sidedness of the Congress, the Statesman suggests that it "ignores the possibility that there may be room for both"—i.e., Indian and British Capital—"that there may be virtue in competition, and that the enterprise of one may create opportunity for many".

It seems sound economics. We will stick then, to enomics. In what way can Indian Capital, which is in every way inferior to British Capital compete with the latter ? Britain sells her goods to the world, India only in the impoverished internal market. British Capital is highly organised, concentrated, centralised and backed by powerful financial organisations. Indian Capital is weakly organised and is badly lacking in financial help. There are thus obviously only two ways for Indian Capital to compete successfully with British Capitalist undertakings. The first is an energetic support from the state, combined with a frank discrimination against all foreign capital. The second is by attacking the standard o- living of the workers in Indian Capitaf list undertakings in order to cut down labour expenses.

The *Statesman* in rejecting the first, obviously recommends the second method by which Indian capital can exist side by side with British Capital. "We won't budge an inch, Messrs Indian Capitalists", says Imperialism. "If you want to compete with me, cut down your production costs, starve your workers and employees " That is the obvious virtue of competition.

Investment and Ownership.

"It is possible to think of the investment of Capital in a country's industrial development, as good, even if the money comes from outside, and the interest which is only part of the desirable consequences of a good investment, goes outside".

It is possible that the Statesman's leaderwriter was thinking of Soviet Russia, when he wrote this remarkable sentence because Soviet Russia did utilise foreign capital for her own development. But even a dullard can see that she could do this because she was her own mistress. She could ask Mr. Henry Ford to build for her a first class motor factory at Nijni Novgorod, even allowing Mr. Ford to send money home. because she knew, and Mr. Ford knew that after a number of years the factory would be hundred percent Russian. Can we say that of the Jute Mills of which the *Statesman* is the spokesman? Why, Bengal could not even nationalise *a public utily companies* like the Electric Supply Corporation at calcutta.

Risk-bearing & Monopoly

With a feeling of good work done, the *Statesman* proceeds :

"The Capitalist or the investor generally has to take a risk; his reward is in part the reward for facing the risk."

With this piece of a copy book maxim of the nineteenth century economics the writer seeks to wipe off the face of history, the last three or four decades of economic development. During this period, capitalism has striven for and developed a new technique for reducing the risks of early capitalism. I refer to imperialism, and the growth of monopoly. Why is it that British Capital flows so easily into India and not so easily into the Philippines? Why is it that American Capital is poured so easily into the Philippines and with much more hesitation into India? Why did the number of large scale American factories which were built in India just after the War (Steel and Wire Products Factories at Tatanagar for instance) close down as soon as British Capital recouped from the effects of the post-War crisis? Clearly for *Monopoly*. British Capital runs less risk in India than Indian Capital itself, not to speak of foreign capital, because India is a monopoly of imperialist Britain. The rupee can be pegged to the pound. India can be drawn into the Ottawa pact. In such schemes it is not India's economic development which is considered. The considerations are penetration of America into the British Empire at the expense of Britain, and such other questions of advantage or disadvantage to Britain.

Do the British ships carry the lion's share of India's seaborne traffic because foreign and Indian companies are unwilling to run the risk? Do hundreds and thousands of Britishers come to India to earn princely salaries and fat pensions because no other nationalities are willing to run the risk of being members of the Indian Civil Service, or of British Merchant Houses? Precisely the opposite. The British guns minimise the risk for Britishers and magnify that of other foreigners and Indians alike.

Imperialism shakes its head over the poverty of Indians

"India wants a great deal of capital yet, much more than it seems likely to provide by its own savings."

The *Statesman* has suddenly discovered India's crying need for British Capital only at the moment when the Congress Working Committee hinted at India's control over the investment of foreign capital. But the statement was so hurried that instead of successfully concealing inconvenient facts it rather pointed to those facts. We all know that much British Capital is invested in India. But the question is, in what? In "risky" industrial undertakings? No, The experts say that about four-fifths of the total capital is invested in perfectly safe *Government and Municipal loans*. And while the Governmen itself is engaged in gagging India's in, dustrial development of the country- this money is neither directly nor indirectly utilised in the expansion of India's industries which alone can give India the "equipment of modern civilisation" which she "sadly lacks".

Shapurji Saklatvala once gave an account of how much money a free India wanted to fulfil a rudimentary scheme of education and sanitation. According to his calculations the capital needed would be many times more than could be gathered by ruthless taxation. The method he recommended for raising the money was the expropriation of the Indian Princes. The significance of this should not be missed. Saklatvala who knew capitalism from inside knew that money for such schemes would not be forthcoming from foreign Capitalism, because these schemes do not bear any interest. The money has to be forced for national benefit from unwilling hands.

Monopoly and India's ruin

"The art of getting and using capital was not of this country's gifts of last century", says the *Statesman* with apparent satisfaction. Remarkably cynical statement in delightfully bad taste! Fit words in the mouths of a class which destroyed India's economy and impeded the building of another to take its place!

The *Statesman* need not have any fears, on the score of raising the standard of living in India. The standard of living evolved in India under British imperialism is nothing to write home about. The peasantry faces ruin. The middle class is without a future. The workers condition is growing worse.

Freedom's way

What of Soviet Russia? No Unemployment; a standard of living for the workers and peasants undreamt of under the Czars. Literacy fast approaching hundred percent. And all this because people have earned for themselves through a grim fight independence, sovereignty. It is that way India's happiness lies, in independence, in the earning of sovereignty for her people.

BRITAIN'S FOREIGN POLICY—SURRENDER TO FASCISM

(Britisher)

At a moment when Europe, and the world, is obviously on the brink of a terrible war it is necessary for all socialists most clearly to analyse the forces at work making for war in order to formulate in a constructive fashion their own peace policy and to unveil the deception that is daily spread abroad in the capitalist press. We have in the past and shall in the future continue to condemn the fascsit aggressors as the war-mongers; we have correctly defined Fascism as the savage determination of a rotten capitalist system to stave off inner collapse and to bolster up counter revolution; we have correctly foreseen and warned the workers, of Hitlers series of attacks on the peoples of Spain, Austria and Czekoslovakia. Nevertheless our condemnation and our warnings have been too general; even amongst the left there has been considerable confusion especially as to the role being played by the National Government in Britian, with the result that in times of crisis, such as Eden's resignation we have not been able to expose to the full the sinister motives behind the Government, we have failed to undeceive the masses and so been unable to create a mass realization of the need for unity in order to drive out Chamberlain and replace him by a Government that will give Britain's foreign policy a strong peace orientation along with France, Russia and the other democratic countries.

This confusion in the left is best seen by our inability to give a straight and decisive answer to theories that are current, such as that alliance with the aggressors, however immoral and unpleasant, at least keeps us out of a war with them; or that events in Spain have shown that the ruling class in England is suffering from a contradiction in its interests, i.e., that is its class interest (anti-democratic) conflicts with its imperialist interest (defence of the Mediterranean route); or that the

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National Government has no policy but is feebly vacillating between a number of doubtful alternatives, and, in the case of the Anglo-Italian agreement ignominiously gave way to Italian blackmail; or, finally, that the Anglo-Italian agreement was a clever attempt to break the Rome-Berlin axis.

These confusions are largely due to the growth of sentimental, unthinking, defeatist and extremely dangerous pacifism. These thousands of decent people who shudder at the idea of war; much as they detest Fascism and realize responsibility of Hitler and Mussolini for the death agonies of European Peace, yet they are being objectively used in order to bolster up fascist aggression, and they will continue to be so used so long as we on the left fail to clarify the political issues and dispel the Chamberlain propaganda that is being sedulously spread abroad in peace-loving phraseology for their special benefit. Simultaneously much confusion is being created by an apparent split in the conservative ranks and the appearance of Churchill as the advocate of a stand against fascism in order to safeguard imperial interests. Whilst no doubt Churchill does represent that part of the City whose immediate interests are more concerned with the exploitation of India and the far East, it would be fatal to believe that there is really a clash of interests in the capitalist camp. Churchill is as counter-revolutionary and as anti-democratic as Chamberlain; his opposition is largely a personal and careerist one, and he is just as keen as Chamberlain on effecting, if by slightly different means, a Four Power Pact with Britain as the strongest partner and leading the unholy alliance in an attack on the Soviet Union and the central European democracies.

In approaching those who have fallen for Churchill's rhetoric or the sentimental defeatism of pacificism, it is necessary clearly to realize that there has been no vacillation on the part of the National Government, that they have not given way to Italian blackmail, that there is not the remotest desire to break the Berlin-Rome axis. British policy as represented by the ruling class, has been from the very beginning to smash democracy in any place in the world where it raises its head in a progressive and militant form. It is doing so now in Spain; it has done its best to do so in France by plotting with French capitalists to overthrow the Peoples Front; it has done so in Czekoslovakia by doing everything in its power to make Hitlers path easy, to discourage France from protecting the Czeks and by advising Dr. Benes to give way to Henlein's outrageous demands. Why does it do this? Firstly because the class struggle in Europe is now such that when a progressive Government comes to power as in Spain or France, it seriously menaces the strangle hold of capitalism over the economic structure of the country; that in turn weakens the world capitalist system which is already in a tottering condition, and it gives enormous and immediate impetus to the whole anti-imperialist and revolutionary struggle throughout the world. This, Chamberlain and Co have known from the beginning; the screen of bourgeois democracy has ceased to be of any use to them; like the League of Nations it has become a weapon in the hands of the progressive forces, therefore it must be destroyed on a world-wide scale. Secondly, Chamberlain knows very well that Fascism in Germany and Italy is in a precarious condition both economically and politically. Even if he did not like Fascsim (but he does, as he recently informed the House of Commons) the one thing that he and his class cannot afford to see is the breakdown of these two fascist regimes and the inevitable social revolution that would immediately follow. British help to the Fascsits is therefore essential in order to forestall the crash of Hitler's and Mussolini's regimes and t h

emergence of a revolutionary socialist government that would be the forerunner of the collapse of international capitalism. This help to Fascism takes the form of huge loans to bolster up their economic ruin and acquiescence in expansion in Africa and Central Europe; its ultimate objective is the conquest and division of the Soviet Union which will simultaneously open enormous spheres of exploitation for decadent capitalism and remove democracies spearhead of attack against reaction. That is why Chamberlain is consistently pro-fascist and out to destroy every democratic state or group that offers resistance to Fascist aggression, lest such resistance be successful and result in Hitler's downfall. Fascist Germany and Italy must expand and obtain credits and new areas for exploitation or they will collapse; Chamberlain will see to it that all the might and authority and arms of the British Empire are used to prevent that collapse.

There is nothing in this policy of va illation; there is no submission to blackmail, and least of all is there any conflict between class and imperial interests, for both such interests are equally served by smashing democracy and bolstering up the counter-revolution ary butchers in Germany and Italy.

Chamberlain's promotion to the premiership coincides with a determination to come out into the open with a forward policy on these lines. Far from being intimidated by Mussolini in the Mediterranean (for no one has any doubt but that British power was sufficient to bring Italy to heal in the inside of a week) he skillfully used the sham conflict of interests in the Mediterranean to work off the agreement he had long desired. It has been said that from this agreement Britain gains nothing and Mussolini gets all the plums. It is true that the British people get nothing, but Chamberlain gets just what he wants—official recognition and diplomatic basis for building up the Four Power Pact. Germany, instead of being afraid that British friendship with Italy, welcomes this move as bringing Britain closer to her and Hitler celebrates it by his ceremonial visit to Rome to work out the further details of the fascist conspiracy. The stage is now set for Chamberlain to cement his alliance with Germany and he is already far on the way to bringing in France as an unwilling partner to the Four Power Pact. Now that the City of London and the French financiers have succeeded in beating back the Peoples Front in France and have set up a complacent government under Daladier, Chamberlain's way is open for the Four Power Pact that he has schemed for so long. In this pact he foresees that France will be sufficiently isolated and weakened, that she will meekly follow the British lead in foreign affairs through fear of losing British support in the war that everyone sees to be inevitable. As regards Germany and Italy Chamberlain is well aware that both are anxious for the political and economic support of the British Empire. British policy is, therefore, to use its enormous strength and prestige to play the leading part in this four power pact, to make France into an insignificant appendage of the Foreign Office and the City of London, to break the Franco-Soviet Pact, to destroy French influence in Central Europe, and to direct fascsit expansion towards central Europe, the Balkans and finally an assault on Russia.

This perspective entails the destruction of democracy wherever it exists and the support of fascism where it needs to expand and an alliance with fascist groups working within states that are not yet under the fascist yoke. But does it preserve peace, as many confused peace-lovers seem to think? It is true that if Chamberlain's policy is allowed to proceed, an immediate clash with the fascist powers is ruled out; it is true, too, that in theory any war which Hitler immediately envisages,

though supported by Chamberlain, would not necessarily mean throwing British troops into the battle. But this is true only of the immediate future—that is, the next few months or even a year; for what is beyond any question or doubt is the fact known to all socialists and borne out by all history, that the rapid and aggressive expansion of two new imperialist powers must inevitably and in a very short space of time cut across the interests of existing imperial powers. It is inconceivable that Germany or Italy, once they are encouraged by Chamberlain to carry out their professed aggression, should be able to avoid plunging the world into a major war. That is the characteristic of capitalist imperialism; the more it expands and the more rapidly, it must go on expanding not into a vacuum but into the preserves of just those powers whose strength and strategical position are obstacles to its unfettered domination. However much therefore, Britain encourages Hitler to expand to the East, she cannot avoid the inevitable result that this expansion leads immediately to conflict with France and, within a very short time, the clash of the British Empire with Germany.

What then is gained by giving Hitler a free hand in the East? Firstly a war tomorrow which might occur if Fascist aggression was opposed, is averted. Secondly, the counter-revolution in the Fascist countries is bolstered up. And thirdly Chamberlain is freed from his nightmare of the workers using democracy to hasten the end of capitalism. But what is the price? The price paid is that when the conflict comes, when Briiish imperialism clashes with German and Italian imperialism, England will have sacrificed, every advantage and every ally that she now has; she will stand alone against the enormously powerful and industrially efficient fascist forces and having consciously suppressed throughout the whole world the real anti-fascist fighters. The price of Chamberlain's policy is the suppression of democracy; it means that today in England the people, except for the actual bombing and dying, are living in a state of war, liberties are curtailed, social services are cut down, Sedition acts and Official Secrets acts are enforced, war time taxation is imposed, and industry is being placed upon a war footing (including the attempted delusion of labour and the breaking of Trade Union rights). And what are all the war measures being taken for and armaments piled up? Not to oppose Hitler, but to support him, to strengthen Britain's position in the Four Power Pact directed against Russia and to supply arms (at a profit) to Hitler himself and to the aggressors. The British people are being deceived into thinking that all these armaments and preparations are in order to oppose fascism; nothing is further from Chamberlain's thoughts. He wants them and the state of war within the country in order, firstly, to enable the manufacturers to pile up big profits, secondly, to win for Britain the leading position in the Four Power Pact of aggression; and thirdly in order to start the process of slipping fascist shackles into the British working classes so that it cannot stand in defence of democracy and civilization. These are the sacrifices that we are asked to make in order to save the capitalist system; we are not being asked to make them in order to save peace, for Chamberlain's policy leads direct to war: it leads first to a series of fascist wars of aggression supported by Britain against the small democracies, against France (who will be cheated by the other three members of the Four Power Pact) and against the Soviet Union, and then to the inevitable trial of strength between the major imperialists, which the regimented people of England and the Empire will be driven like sheep to slaughter.

That is Chamberlians policy, clear-cut and well prepared. But will it succeed ? Recent events have shown that Czekoslovakia does not intend to be a second Austria even at Chamberlain's command, and we my be sure that should Hitler invade that country it will resist and although it could'nt stand out for any length of time against the war machine of Hitler, it is known that the Czek army and air force are by no means negligible quantities. In the first few months of such a war the whole face of Europe would be changed; we should witness the first case of armed resistance to fascist aggression; Russia would undoubtedly implement her promise to protect Czecoslovakia, even a reactionary and vacillating France woud be bound to be drawn in. For the first time since Hitler came to power war would be carried into German territory and German cities bombed; the German people would know what war and the war-policy of their leader meant to their women and children. On which side would Chamberlain come in—for neutrality in such a war is inconceiveable? We all know that he would come in on the side of the fascists; we know, too, that by encouraging Hitler in Czekoslovakia he is provoking just this kind ofwar. But such a war would develop at once into a class war; two facts alone, the participation of the Soviet Union in the war and the strain on the political cohesion of the fascist countries, would make this war different from all others: the clash between aggressive capitalism and the Soviet Union allied with democratic powers would be carried right into the home front of every nation engaged, not to speak of the colonial countries exploited by the imperialist powers. But Chamberlain knows this too, and thatis why he is anxious to hurry through at once his preliminary plans to make France incapable of independent action, to smash the democracies one by one, to isolate Russia and hand her over to Hitlers fascist colonisers; and to subject the working class of England and the colonies to fascist regimentation. His plans will be foiled if the peace-loving and democratic people can contrive to resist fascist aggression even on one front.

The left is often accused of war-mongering, of trying to provoke war by opposing Hitler or Mussolini, or of desiring a war as a way of bringing about a revolutionary situation. We believe that a major war will spell the end of imperialism and capitalism; we believe also that war is eventually inevitable under the capitalist system; we beleive also that it is necessary here and now to oppose fascist aggression, because, as we have seen Chamberlain's policy of supporting fascsim leads to the destruction of all we stand for and the final plunging of the world into the most ghastly war. Such opposition to fascism may mean the use of force, and we are prepared to use such force in collaboration with other democratic forces rather than to wait and be plunged into the kind of war that Chamberlain is preparing for us.

But Peace can here and now be saved; and democracy can be saved, and in so doing we should strike a blow at fascism and at reactionary British imperialism from which they would be enabled to survive Victory in Spain and China, victory of the Popular Front in France over reaction, the support of a democratic Alliance in England for the peace bloc including Russia, the positive opposition of all these people to fascist aggression would mean the immediate collapse of Hitler and Mussolini; it would mean revolution in Germany and Italy: it would mean the rapid advance of democracy towards socialism (as was already apparent in Spain before the rebellion), and it would mean that capitalism, which is already searching desperately to secure itself against

collapse, would go down with a minimum of bloodshed before the freed workers. That is why we stand for peace and desire at all costs to avoid the terrible suffering and agony of a war, even if such a war was to end in the victory of the workers. Time and Peace are on the side of the workers; war can only mean suffering and destruction on an enormous scale.

Much depends on the next few weeks. If Chamberlain can force Czekoslovakia to capitulate to Hitler, then his plan goes forward for encouraging the next step of fascist aggression and preparing for war on the Soviet Union, the smashing of democracy, isolation of France etc. If, however, Czekoslovakia resists, then there are two alternative possibilities—either we shall be plunged into war or, and this is still possible, the democratic people will rally to the defence of the victim and Hitler will be beaten back by the force of peace-desiring powers aligned up against him. If this happens it may well be the end of fascism, that is why we cannot expect Chamberlain to sanction such an alignment.

The key to peace therefore lies with the British people; can they now forge a democratic peace alliance whose primary objective will be to throw out Chamberlain and alter the whole of Britain's foreign policy with a view to saving democracy and peace? Nobody doubts that the mass of British people want such an alliance; it is the leaders of the Labour Party who stand in the way. It is only a matter of time before they give in, but there is tragically little time before us. The reason which they give for turning down the Peace Alliance—that it would mean abandoning socialism—is a comic one. We have yet to learn since when Transport House stood for socialism. Has not the whole of their past history been a betrayal of socialism? Did they not betray socialism in 1926, have they not consistently followed the line of the McDonalds and Snowdens, and did they not lay down in their immediate programme that socialism was not at issue at this stage? The real reason for Transport House's refusal to sanction the alliance with all progressive people in order to save peace is a different one; they do not care a fig for socialism, either in practice or in the abstract, but they know well that this specious argument of theirs will carry much weight with all those workers by whose sweat and blood the Labour Party in England has been built up. Such people can be made to believe that all that they have worked for is at stake. But what Transport House really fears is that such an alliance might force them towards socialism, not away from it. For it is an undoubted fact that the Popular Front or Peace Alliance would immediately make socialism an issue of the moment. For one thing it is already agreed that it would have to put forward a comprehensive and progressive programme for home affairs; it would nationalize the arms industry and the banks; it would enforce exchange control and it would tackle unemployment. In doing this it would immediately be faced with a threat from vested interests; the head of fascism and counter-revolution would raise itself. As in Spain and incomparably much sooner and with more vehemence than in France reaction would take upon itself the task of the forcible crushing of democracy. Reaction would force a crisis, the issue of socialism would be not only the order of the day, but it would rest with the workers and the great labour movement, which would be the backbone of the Peace Alliance, to fight back reaction and to expose its conspiracies. It is precisely because they do not want socialism, precisely because they know that the peace Alliance will lead to such a revolutionary situation in which the workers, as in Spain, will be faced with succumbing to fascism or crushing it and its capitalist allies once and forever, it is precisely because Transport House,

like Chamberlain, is afraid of democracy and socialism, that they are prepared to let Chamberlain weather each successive crisis and drag us on to destruction.

THE COLLECTIVE FARM: WELL—TO—DO LIFE

The Soviet Power received as a heritage from Tsarism an ocean of small and scattered households with low technical equipment.

Entering late on the path of capitalist development, Russia was lagging behind the advanced capitalist countries by several scores of years in its economic development. In the economy of pre-revolutionary Russia capitalism was very closely interwoven with very considerable remnants of serfdom.

The data on distribution of lands drawn up by Lenin, show clearly the feudal character of the agrarian system in Tsarist Russia: 30,000 landowners owned 70,000,000 dessiatins of land, while 10½ million of peasant households owned 75,000,000 dessiatins Each landowners' estate was in possession of over 2,000 dessiatins where as a peasant household only of 7 dessiatins.

The peasantry were under heavy inhuman oppression of landowners, kulaks (rich farmers), priests and numerous Tsarist servants.

The October Socialist Revolution has opened quite a new path to life,for the toiling peasantry. It helped to overthrow the landowners and capitalists the usurers and kulaks, the merchants and profiteers. The land of landowners, monasteries, and churches was given to the peasantry free of charge. The poor rural workers received the landowners' inventary to the amount of over 300 million roubles.

The peasants' debts of several hundred million roubles for rented land was cancelled. Four fifth of the kulak pre-war households went over to the poor and middle class peasantry.

The policy of the industrialisation of the country now successfully carried through, has created material conditions and a strong basis for socialist reconstruction of the Soviet countryside. In over coming the furious resistance of the numerous enemies of the kolkhoz system the, party of Lenin-Stalin has achieved historical victories in socialist reconstruction of agriculture. The old village with its starving oppressed labourer is a think of the past. In February of this year, five years have passed since the first All-Union Congress of Collective farm shock workers was held at which comrade Stalin set the task—to render all the collective farms bolshevik, and the collective farmers, well-to-do. This direction was laid down as a basis of the entire work on the completion of socialist reconstruction in the village. The kolkhoz peasantry responded to this direction of Comrade Stalin by strengthening socialist property,by raising kolkhoz production, by raising labour discipline and by developing socialist competition. As a result of five years elapsed since the first congress of shock workers of socialist fields, wonderful results have been achieved.

The whole of the Soviet peasantry with a few exceptions are kolkhoz peasants, individual peasants represent and a very small stratum in the village, whose role is quite insignificant in agriculture.

Today, there are in the USSR 243,700 collective farms which comprise 93% of

peasant farms, while in 1932 there were 211,050 collectivist farms which comprised 14,900,000 farms or 61,5%. About 15,000,000 farms are in the collective farms, for over five years. These are the farms which acquired big experience and habits of work in collective farms. At present the collective farms occupy 99.1% of the whole area under cultivation.

A complete re-equipment of agriculture has been carried through. By the beginning of 1938 there were in the country 5,819 machine tractor stations, 367,000 tractors (in comparison with 1932 an increase of almost 5 times as much), 104,600 combines (increase almost 50 times as much), 67,000 motor cars (increase 10 times as much), tens of thousands of other first rate Machine Tractor Stations serve with their machines 91·2% of the whole area under cultivation.

The using of technique of socialist agriculture was continuously improving. In 1932 the production of one combine in the machine tractor station constituted 75·6 hectares, in 1937, 323 hectares; the productivity of a 15 horse power tractor in the MTS—367 hectares and 440 hectares respectively.

Thus, the agriculture of the Soviet Union looked upon in the recent past as a classic example of technical backwardness in which 30% of all the peasant farms were horseless, 34% had no inventory—has become the largest, the mightiest and most technically equipped in the world.

The tractor paved the way to a new socialist system in the village, has become the material basis for raising new technical cadres. It is sufficient to say that over one million people are working now in the kolkhoz village only on the tractor, combine, on a track and flax-brake. In 1938 the Soviet Government allocated funds in order to prepare 500,000 more people to work at the machines. Agricultural labour has been transformed to a considerable extent into a variety of industrial labour.

The experience of socialist reconstruction of agriculture in the Soviet Union is consolidated in the statute of agricultural artel which is a law of the proper organisation of the kolkhoz life. The kolkhoz peasantry received for perpetual use over 400 million hectares of land free of charge.

Carrying out the statute, the collective farms raise the efficiency of labour, the harvest in the fields and the productivity in cattle-breeding,

In 1937 the gross collection of grain in collective and state farms reached almost 7 milliard poods. The harvest of grain in 1937 exceeded by 8·8% the task of the second Five-Year Plan for 1937 and by 55 % the gross production of grain before the war. Socialist agriculture has come close to the fulfilment of the Stalinist task given in December 1935 at the conference of advanced combine-drivers—men and women—to bring the annual output of grain to 7·8 milliards poods. The history of the Soviet country does not know such a harvest.

The gross collection of grain in the kolkhozes in 1937 was over 6 milliards of poods according to preliminary data, i.e.. 2 milliards poods more than in 1936, The increase of output of grain constituting on the average over 100 poods for each collective farm was chiefly spent for distribution according to labour days and for sale in the kolkhoz trade.

The results of 1937 are striking not only by the high harvest of grain. The harvest of cotton in 1937 was higher than in the proceeding year. But 1936 was considered a record year with regard to the high harvest of cotton. The USSR came up to the third place in the world (after the USA and India) on the output of cotton.

In 1936 the harvest of sugar-beet from one hectare was on an average 131 centners, and in 1937 there was collect-

ed not less than 209 centners from one hectare. The Soviet Union has occupied the first place in the world on the gross production of sugar beet. Exceptionally high was the harvest of fruit, vegetables, sun flower and other crops in 1937.

Agriculture in the USSR turns out twice as much production than in the pre war time. If in 1913 the production of agriculture in money was equal to 8 milliard roubles, in 1937 it was equal to 16·6 milliard roubles.

The income of collective farms from socialised cattle-breeding grew up considerably. The first thousand of live-stock farms in the collective farms were organised in 1930. By the beginning of 1937 235,000 or 97% of all collective farms had already live-stock commercial farms.

In 1933 collective farms and collective farmers had in their individual use: 161 heads of big-horned cattle for each 100 kolkhoz farms, and in 1930—they had already 272 heads.

According to preliminary figures in 1937 the gross production of cattle breeding increased more than by 50% in comparison with 1937.

In order to estimate the rise of socialist cattle breeding since 1934, it is sufficient to quote the following figures: In Tsarist Russia during three years 1911,—1913 the number of big-horned cattle increased only by one million heads, pigs—by 1.6 million heads, sheep and goats—by 8 million heads.

In the USSR during three years 1934-1936 the number of big-horned cattle increased by 18.3 million heads, pigs—by 18.4 million heads; sheep and goats—by 23.5 million heads.

The Soviet Power renders great assistance to the collective farmers in providing them with cattle for individual use. From 1933 to 1937 1,403,000 heads of big horned cattle were sold from the collective farms to the collective farmers on reduced prices.

Material assistance in the form of long term loans was given to the collective farmers for buying cows. At present, in the majority of republics, territories and regions there are no collective farms without a cow.

The introduction of rotation of crops and grass sowing this year will bring about a new rise in agriculture, a rise in harvest, the strengthening of forage base of cattle breeding.

Poverty has been completely liquidated in the kolkhoz village. 20.30 millions of former poor peasants after entering the collective farm have turned into well-to-do people.

The money income of collective farms has also reached a very big amount. It was equal to 17 milliard roubles in 1937 according to incomplete data. This is 1½ times more than it was 5 years ago. Working conscientiously in artels, the collective farmers reap rich fruit for their labour.

There are already in the country many collective farms which receive income in million roubles. In Tadjik republic in 1936 there were 24 collective farms-millionaires. In 1937 their number grew up to 100. In Uzbek republic there are 337 collective-farms millionaires. In Kirghiz republic, the number of collective farms-millionaires increased in the recent year from 12 to 50. In Tashkent district alone, 40 collective farms received over one million rouble of income each. In the Greek district of Krasnodarsk territory there are 7 collective farm-millionaires.

The amount of income in money and in kind received by the collective farmers for labour days is increasing systematically. Quite different methods are used to come to well-to-do life, than it was in the old revolutionary village. In order to become well-to-do, the collective farmers

have not to exploit labour of other people, to cheat and to deceive their neighbours.

"In order to become well-to-do for a collective farmer only one thing is required ; to work in the collective farm honestly- to utilise properly, tractors and machines; to utilise properly draught cattle , to cultivate properly the land, to safeguard the kolkhoz property." (Stalin).

The collective farms with a proper attitude to labour, receive so many agricultural products, which the peasants could never dream of, under the conditions of individual small farming.

The households of collective farmers are filled up with grain fruit, cattle and poultry. 990 collective farms of Tambov region made accounts for 1937. These accounts show the high income of collective farms. In the collective farm "Lenin's Memory" (Pokrovo-Marfinsky District) 24 kilograms of grain were earned per labour day.

"In the kolkhoz "Flourishing of New Life" Kolachinsky district, Omsky Region 25.7 kilograms of grain were earned per labour day. The collective farmer Zvagalsky earned with his family 1,620 poods of grain and 636 rbls. Another Zvagalsky L.—1,242 poods of grain and 488 rbls. Brigadier Sidorenko—1,206 poods of grain and 474 roubles.

In the kolkhoz named after Max Hoelz, Novo Zaimsky district of the same region, one pood of grain and 1 rbl. 16 kop. were earned per lobour day. The collective farmer Khorzov earned 800 poods of grain and 991 rbls. The collective farmer Korobkov, whose family consist of three people earned 650 poods of grain and 794 roubles.

In Etkulsky district, Cheliabinsk district out of 30 collective farms only in two, the members of the artel got less than 16 kilograms of grain per labour day. Many artels paid out 25-30 kilograms of grain, 5-7 rbls. per labour day. In Krasnodarsky area the average amount paid out in kind constitutes 9 kilograms per labour day.

The kolkhoz millionaire named after the First Cavalry division, Temruk district in Kuban, pays out to the collective farms over 10,000 roubles per labour day. Kolkhoznik Korolev earned for his labour days over 11,000 rubles and 7 tons of grain.

There are a good many of kolkhozs especially in the districts of technical crops in which 20-25 rubles and more are paid out per labour day, in which some families received 25-30roubles per labour day. The purchases of collective farmers are growing. For example the collective farms of Don bought this year on money received for the grain sold,427 one and a half ton trucks and 268 three ton trucks, 1,500 bicycles, 12,800 beds, 5,300 watches, 18,900 pairs of boots and 12,500 pairs of shoes, 1,500 gramophones, 1,358 wagons of timber and 1,363 wagons of saw-mill material and many other goods. Reports of this kind come from all over the Soviet Union.

The increase of some of the money pouring into indivisible funds ofcollective farms clearly reveals the economic strengthening of the collective farms, the growth of prosperity of the collective farmers. In 1937 the collective farms made contributions to indivisible funds of1,695,000,000 rbls.303,000,000 roubles more than in 1936, and 1,042,000,000 roubles more than in 1935.

The collective farmer is fully certain of the morrow. Organised labour in the kolkhoz village has changed the man himself, his conscience, his requirements and his home life.

A big number of schools are being built (from 1933 to 1936 13,784 schools were built in rural localities), nurseries, village-libraries, clubs and kolkhoz theatres. Welfare in the Soviet village is rapidly growing, electricity is being conducted into industrial buildings and into kolkhoz-

niks" houses. Radio has become an ordinary thing in a kolkhoz family. People are growing—getting rid of old survivals. Such ancient customs like fights during the carnival and general holidays, the compulsory marriage of a daughter by her parents despite her choice, and many other things are things of the past.

Formerly notable people in the village were those who rose on the backs of other people, who became parasite kulaks. Now notable people in the kolkhoz are tractor drivers, combine-drivers, Stakhanovites of socialist agriculture, men and women.

The number of these new people is growing every year.

Socialist agriculture advanced a whole army of workers who glorified their fatherland by wonderful deeds.

Over 2,500 chairmen of kolkhozes, brigadiers, link brigadiers, tractor drivers, combine-drivers, agronomists and other workers of the collective farm, machine tractor stations, agricultural scientific institutions have been awarded during the recent 5 years by the Order of the Soviet Union.

Quite different has become the outlook upon women. The peasant woman of the collective farm has become equal in all respects with the man and has become a great force in the collective farm.

Here you have some notable examples. In 1936 there were women—members of collective farm boards—18%, managers of cattle—breeding farms in the collective farms—16%, brigadiers of live-stock brigades—22%, link brigadiers—67%, managers of clubs—11%, agronomists of machine tractor stations—10%. Out of the total number of labour days of collective farmers in 1936—35,8% belong to women. Among the awarded for the recent years by Order of the Union there are over 700 women kolkhozniks.

Being convinced in practice, that their well being depends on the strength of the kolkhoz of its funds and means of production of the size of the kolkhoz of property, the collective farmers, in their overwhelming majority, show careful attitude to collective socialist property. The striving to strengthen kolkhoz production has imbued the life of million strong kolkhoz peasantry of the Soviet country.

There is not a single state in the world which renders such assistance to the toiling peasantry, which is being rendered by the socialist state to the workers and peasants. Over 400 million hectares of land are given to the collective farms for perpetual use and free of charge. An up-to-date mighty technique is at the disposal of the peasant masses. Tens of milliards of state money are invested into socialist reconstruction of agriculture.

Thus, during the years of socialist reconstruction in agriculture the material and cultural level of the kolkhoz peasantry has grown up immeasurably. The most important and significant thing is that we have not only individual cases of growth of prosperity of collective farmers. The kolkhoz system which liquidated completely and for ever, the exploitation in the countryside, represents a strong basis for a general rise of material and cultural conditions of the peasantry.

1938 must become the year of further flourishing of socialist agriculture.

(*Continued from page 8.*)

admitted that "in the fight against the Soviet power it is permissible to utilise a war situation". When confronted with the statements of Khodjayev he went still further and declared:

"I told Khodjayev that in our foreign-political orientation we must make use of all keys, including the British.

In the course of the proceedings it was clearly proved that the Rights as well as the Trotskyists worked to bring about war.

It was Yenukidze and Yagoda members of the Right group who established connection with the military group of Tukhachevsky which worked for a so-called military putsch or, as they themselves said, for palace revolution, and finally fixed this action for the time of the outbreak of war, when they would at the same time open the frontiers. Important commanding positions in the Ukraine and in White Russia were in the hands of Tukhachevsky's people.

Although Rykov in his confession went further than Bukharin and admitted that the slogan: "opening the frontiers" in the event of war emanated from the Rights, he again and again attempted to minimise their guilt, until the State Prosecutor proved from the depositions of Rykov at the preliminary examination that already in 1930-31 the Rights concluded an agreement with Poland in the event of war, to cede White Russia to Poland. In the Protocol of the preliminary investigation, signed by Rykov, we read:

"In this period i.e., in the period 1930-31 this question, i.e., the question spoken of previously, the question of the orientation on Poland, was on several occasions a subject of discussion between myself, Bukharin Tomsky and Chervyakov, former Chairman of the Central Executive Committee of White Russia. Chervyakov has been a coward, but an exceptionally active participant of the Right organisations since 1928. . . The general formula we then agreed to amounted to this, that in the negotiations with the Poles, with whom contacts had already been restored by that time through Chervyakov, we would agree to the White Russian Soviet Republic being severed from the USSR."

Rykov confirmed before the Court this statement made in the preliminary investigation, as well as the following statement:—

"The idea was to give this compensation to Poland in the event of our coming to power in war time. The factors giving rise to the war, the attack by the imperialist Powers Poland and Germany), the war, were engineering in order to come to power, we did everything possible to sharpen and stimulate this factor in all our practical activities."

Rykov himself admitted before the Court that the Rights did everything in order to incite the bellicose Powers to attack. Thus he said:—

"The existing military group, headed by Tukhachevsky was connected with our Centre and aimed at taking advantage of a war to overthrow the Government. This meant preparing for intervention pure and simple. Our dealings with the Germans, which we intensified in every way, were meant to stimulate in every way an armed attack.

And in another place:

"If a group of plotters in any country engages in negotiations with the enemy, then the very fact of these negotiations in itself must assist in hastening war—the enemy, the sooner he undertakes his offensive the more support he has within the country."

Trotksky not only played the leading part in the agreement with the

German fascists regarding the attack upon the Soviet Union, but also in the agreements with Japan, to whom the Maritime Provinces were to be ceded. The Trotskyists Pyatakov and Yurenev were not only themselves in the service of Japan but also tried to enlist Rakovsky in its service. One must read the speech of Rakovsky regarding this. Unfortunately we cannot quote it in full. As soon as Rakovsky entered the service of Japan his first work was to draw up a report in which the situation in the Soviet Union (regarding wages collective farms, industry and finance) was painted in extremely dark colours in order, as Rakovsky himself expressed it, to whet the appetite of the aggressors......

In their criminal plans to kindle war, the Trotskyists, and rights reckoned in the first place on the fascit Powers. They did not however, leave Britain out of account. Ivanov, the Tsarist provocateur and follower of Bukharin got into contact with the British Intelligence Service in the north district, whilst Khodjayev established contact with the British resident in Afghanistan. But the Trotskyists, too, had their connections with Britain. And they firmly relied on her support in an attack upon the Soviet Union. According to Rakovsky's testimoney, Yurenev complained that the spy service for Japan was bringing the Trotskyists into conflict with Great Britain.

"It should not be forgotten that England once headed a coalition against the French revolution and fought on, for 25 years."

Yes, indeed, this should not be forgotten.

The greater part of this criminal activity for launching a war took place at a time when the Soviet Union was developing a tremendous activity for peace and also had achieved successes in this sphere. It enters the league of nations in 1934, in the following year concludes the Franco-Soviet Pact of mutual assistance against agressors and soon afterwards a similar Treaty is signed with Czechoslovakia. Trotsky realises that his criminal plans are being frustrated. He issued to his accomplices the instruction to isolate the Soviet Union. Rakovsky understands the hint and attempts at the last moment before the signing of the treaty with France to persuade Emile Bure that such a treatly is fraught with danger, that it might lead to a new preventive war on the part of Germany.

But the Rights as well do not lag behind. Grinko testified: In the Trotskyist Centre (I had a talk with Rykov and Bukharin about this) there was a fairly widespread hostility to the Franco-Soviet Treaty, because the Franco-Soviet treaty was one of the stages in the peace policy of the Soviet Power which removed or postponed the clash with the aggressor, the clash on which the bloc of Rights and Trotskyists had put their stake ; the annulment of the Franco-Soviet Treaty for the purpose of unleashing opportunities for the aggressor was a part of the programme of the bloc of Rights and Trotskyists."

In the capitalist countries Trotsky, as is known, "fought" with other "radical" arguments, He maligned the defensive strugle against the fascist aggressors as an imperialist alliance, in order to dupe honest workers.

It will be seen from the testimony of Krestinsky, Bessonov, Rykoy, Grinko, and others, that the military attack upon the Soviet Union was planned for the year 1937. It is true, the Trotskyists were to have demonstrated to the fascist aggressors their influence in the Soviet Union by means of terrorism, sabotage and diversionist activities (testimoney of Krestinsky). But precisely this their criminal activity, put the soviet authorities on the right track. After the assassination of Kirov one conspiratorial organisation after the other was discovered. In May 1937, the most dangerous group, the so-called

military group was already under lock and key. By the middle of 1937 the commissariat for home affairs and the Commissariat for foreign affairs were purged and the allies of agressors in the Soviet Union upon whom they would rely, rendered harmless.

Whoever studies the report of the proceedings at the Trial will at once realise why the fascist aggressors set up a howl of rage about the Moscow trial. It is however, difficult to understand why certain democratic and social democratic papers have allowed themselves to be drawn into this incitement against the Soviet authorities. Criminals have been sentenced who are likewise their most dangerous enemies the accomplies of the barbarous fascists, the deliberate instigators of a world conflagration.

Obviously in addition to the old anti-Soviet attitude, the legened of the "Old Guard" has played a great role here. One does not wish to consider the accused as capable of the monstrous crimes of which they have been proved guilty. The report of the proceedings, however, not only furnishes complete enlightenment regarding the acts but also the persons who have committed them.

The Exposed Swindle Of The "Old Guard."

The revelations regarding the past of the accused at the last Moscow Trial, which also threw a vivid light on the antecedents of the chief accused at the former trial, including Trotsky's antecedents, form part of the most important passages of the Verbatim Report. In the first place they destroy the legend which was spun round Trotsky, Rakovsky, Bukharim and others, that they belonged to the "Old Guard of Bolshevism, in fact that *they* formed the Old Guard.

It will be remembered that in the anti-Soviet campaign which was conducted on the occassion of the recent trial, the so-called "Old Guard" was the central point round which everything revolved. This was not due to chance.

In the articles and books by Trorsky and at the so-called counter-trial, alleged alibis were always brought forward. Trotskv triumphantly showed thewhole world the identity of papers his son Sedov possessed in Berlin, on which there was no Danish visa. How then, could Sedov have brought Holzann to him in Copenhagen?

When it had been revealed that the worthy son of the father was an agent of the Reichswehr, and accordingly was provided by it with the necessary papers with which he travelled in 1933 to Velden in Austria, and in 1934 to Carlsbad in order to meet Rosengolz, and who knows where else—after this revelation, conjuring with consular stamps and such things could no longer deceive anybody. The only thing left for Trotsky to do was to deny everything and speculate on the "sound common sense" of the ignorant philistine.

The accused were revolutionaries, in fact old Bolsheviks; how can anybody attribute such crimes to them? A long article by Trotsky which, it should be noted he published in the pro-fascist Sunday Express, is based simply and solely upon this argumentation. As we have said, it is a speculation on the gullibility of the ignorant philistine. In every revolution there have been cases where former revolutionaries have degenerated.

Testimonials as to good character are' as is known, valid only for short periods as the past can in the best case guarantee the present but not the future. This is also true as regards revolutionaries.

Trotsky himself was formerly of this opinion. On December 9, 1926, he stated at the Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International.

"I do not believe that the biographical method can bring us to a decision on questions of principle. I personally, could quote a precedent. There lived

in Germany a man named Franz Mehring, who after a long and energetic fight against Social Democrary entered the Social Democratic Party as a fairly mature man. On the other hand, there are Kautsky and Bernstein who never openly combated Marx, and both of whom were schooled by Fredrick Engels. Bernstein, moreover, as we know, had at his disposal the literary heritage of Engels. Nevertheless, Franz Mehring went to his grave a Marxist, a communist, while the two others still live as reformist lackeys of capital. Thus biography is no doubt important, but not decisive." (Report of the Enlarged Executive of the communist International, November 22 to December 13, 1926.)

Of course Trotsky knows that his present method of exculpating himself and the accused by pointing to their past history, their *biography* (and we must add here, falsified biography) is in complete contradiction to the history of revolutions. Therefore he at the same time revises history. In the above—mentioned article in the Sunday Express, he categorically declares that revolutions made use of bogus trials ("they likewise did not occur without frame-ups.")

The degeneration of revolutionaries was due, among other things, to the fact that they were degenerate already before, when they joined the revolution as was proved in the case of Mirabeau, Danton and Barnave. In the main, however, the cause of degeneration is not a criminal but a sociological one. Various parties in a certain period of revolution fight together. But the revolution develops further. It gradually comes to rely upon the one consistently revolutionary party. The members of the other parties disagree with the further development of the revolution with its methods, and fight against it, The revolutionaries of yesterday become counter-revolutionaries. And the less they can rely upon the support of the masses the more they resort to criminal means.

In Russia the party which was revolutionary to the end was the Bolshevik Party. It alone of all revolutionary and proletarian parties of the whole world, had a theory of the proletrian revolution, a perfectly clear insight into the course of development, and also the will in all circumstances to lead the revolution, to final triumph. It was bound to come into conflict with the Social Revolutionaries with the Mensheviks, and finally also with all those who came to it from other groupings and never became flesh of the flesh and blood of the blood of Bolshevism. Let us hear what Rakovsky himself said regarding this question:

"Citizen Judges, why indeed, did it happen that I turned against my party and in the end sank to the status of a criminal? What did we Trotskyists represent in the Party? We were what is known as an alien body in the living party organism. Trotsky joined the Bolshevik Party only a few months before the October Revolution; his ideology took shape in the fight against Bolshevism. I joined the Party at the end of 1917, after I had belonged for more than a quarter of a century to the second International, which developed under entirely specific conditions, under the conditions of peaceful development of capitalism, and although I belonged to its Left Wing, I was permeated by its opportunism. If you trace back the history of other Trotskyists, if I take Radek, Pyatakov, Preobrashensky, as examples, you will find that both before the October Revolution and after the October Revolution everyone of them was guilty of a number of serious deviations.

" And it must be said that from the very first moment we Trotskyists, adopted the attitude of antagonists of the Party leadership. From the very first moment, Brest-litovsk ...—The discussion about the trade unions, What was that? It was a trial of forces ... We suffered defeat and immediately

adopted an orientation toward foreign States— The Party, in its strivings to consolidate its internal unity, removed a number of Trotskyists from the Central Committee. In 1921 Trotsky already gave his first instruction about establishing criminal connections with the German Intelligence Service."

We do not remember that Rakovsky belonged to the pre-war Lefts of the Second International. But that is not at all important here. What is important, on the other hand, is that the attitude of the Bolsheviks to the proletarian revolution was poles apart from the view regarding it which, prevailed in the whole of the Second International. Whilst the Bolsheviks fought for the dictatorship of the proletariat, for a form of State to be set up by the victorious proletariat to keep down the ruling classes of yesterday, Bukharin proclaimed the immediate abolition of the State after the victory had been won. In this "radical," in fact downright Anarchist view, he was in agreement with August Bebel, who however, right to the end of his life was devoted heart and soul to the cause of the proletariat, but was unable to rise above the limits of a relatively peaceful epoch. In his very widely read book "Woman and Socialism,' Bebel writes very fully about the establishment of Socialism. He imagined it, however, as an idyll; "Our book of crimes is destroyed, the whole world is reconciled." These words of Schiller would be the slogan after the victory. "The hundreds of thousands of former representatives of the State will enter the various professions and help with their strength and intelligence to increase the wealth and amenities of society."

If one enters the proletarian revolution with such views then one can rapidly lose courage in the face of the enormous difficulties, and one will soon think of liquidating the revolution.

Trotsky's attitude to the proletarian revolution does not differ by a shade from the view of the Second International. Contrary to the Bolsheviks, he never concretely faced this question. He never thought about the auxiliary forces of the proletarian revolution. In 1931 he published a history of the Russian Revolution in which he completely left out of account the peasants and the diffetent nationalities. It was only the criticism this work met with that induced him, in thesecond volume, very reluctantly to approach this question. The Trotskyist "permanent revolution," i.e., either the revolution immediately spreads or it is doomed to failure, is a flat denial of the revolution, its liquidation, its betrayal.

When Trotsky saw that the victory of the proletarian revolution, while it evoked big solidarity strikes abroad, did not let loose a revolution in central Europe, he threw up the sponge. With his slogan, neither war nor peace, he left the field to German imperialism. Bukharin wished to do the same thing with his slogan of so-called revolutionary war which in fact, according to his open confession would have meant, retreating to the Urals.

But already at that time Trotsky and Bukharin found themselves confronted by comrades Lenin and Stalin, and were defeated. The attitude of Trotsky and Bukharin and also of Zinoviev and Kamenev, in the period after the conclusion of the Brest Litovsk Peace was clearly shown at the trial by the witness Ossinsky. We learn from him that already at that time they were considering the liquidation of the proletarian revolution. Ossinsky tells of his negotiations with Bukharin who explained to him.

"Zinoviev and Kamenev regard the situation thus: The Socialist revolution in Russia could not be successful, Russia was destined to become transformed into a bourgeois—democratic State...In order to conduct a struggle against the Party they were ready, by reason of their lack of principle, to form a bloc with anybody including the 'Left Communists.

Therefore they wanted negotiations, and negotiations, had begun.

"After this, Bukharin proceeded to give an estimate of Trotsky's position and stated that the situation with Trotsky was approximately the same as that with Zinoviev and Kamenev. Outwardly Trotsky was not coming forward either as a supporter of the 'Left Communists' or as an opponent of the Brest-Litovsk Peace. To outward appearance,he occupied the intermediary position of neither peace nor war. He had selected this position as a cover, so as not to demonstrate openly that he was conducting a struggle against Lenin. He was agreeable to enter the Bloc, where he would prove to be quite a weighly factor."

But Bukharin had allied himself not only with Trotsky and Zinoviev and Kamenev, but also with the Left and, in fact, with the Right Social Revolutionaries, in order to overthrow the Soviet Government, that is to say, to arrest Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov.

Bukharin attempted to make various excuses, but in substance he confirmed the matter.

Vyshinsky : Accused Bukharin, do you confirm that you had the intention of placing Comrades Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov under arrest?

Bukharin : Yes, I confirm it, there was such a moment.

Vyshinsky : Such a plan?

Bukharin : I do not say a plan.

Vyshinsky : Such an intention.

Bukharin : Such an intention.

Vyshinsky : Initiative?

Bukharin :Yes.

Vyshinsky : And who was the initiator of this intention? Was it you?

Bukharin : The intiator of this intention was Trotsky.

Vyshinsky : And you started negotiations with the "Left Social Revolutionaries, abont putting this plan into effect, is that right.

Bukharin : Yes, that's right.

Vyshinsky : With the object of forcible overthrow?

Bukharin : With the object as Trotsky formulated it at the time, of forming a new Cabinet.

Vyshinsky : A cabinet?

Bukharin : Yes.

Thus the first formation of a bloc against the Bolshevik Party commenced already at the beginning of 1918. And Trotsky was the initiator of the planned arrest of Lenin, Stalin and Sverdlov. We find here in embryo all the further crimes. But they did not develop until later.

In the Verbatim Report of the Trial we learn the past of Trotsky, Bukharin, Rykov, Chernov, Yagoda and others in full detail. One must read this in the report. And especially the great speech of the State Prosecutor in which all their crimes are set forth.

No. These were not the Old Guard of the Bolshevik Party. On the contrary, they were people who, apart from brief intervals, conducted a constant fight against the Bolshevik Party and the proletarian revolution; it is true in most cases a veiled and hidden fight, otherwise they would have long been exposed. But here also we see that scoundrels are more cute than honest men.

The Anti-Bolshevik attitude of the accused explains why this fight arose. The fight has its logic. However, it need not have led to all the abominable crimes which came to light at the trial. "We suffered defeat and immediately adopted an orientation towards foreign States," said an old Bolshevik. That was not the simple logic of the struggle. The accused would not have acted in this manner had they not been already rotten, if they had not belonged to that category of people from whom the bourgeoisie have always recruited betrayers of the labour movement. Formerly, in the period of rising capitalism, labour leaders were bought with ministerial positions and high offices. And they then openly preached harmony between labour and capital.

Sometimes the bourgeoisie had to remind such leaders not to over—do things. To-day labour leaders are bought by the intelligence services. In what way this is done the trial has clearly shown. And they have to pose as being "revolutionary." "Trotsky is the greatest revolutionary of our epoch," wrote the Voelkishe Beobachter during the Radek-Pyatakov trial.

It is a new method of fighting, not only against the proletarian revolution but also against the whole labour movement in which the Trotskyists carry on their dangerous, criminal work in the interest of the fascists and warmongers.

To have placed this gang in the pillory is one of the greatest services rendered by the Moscow Trial.

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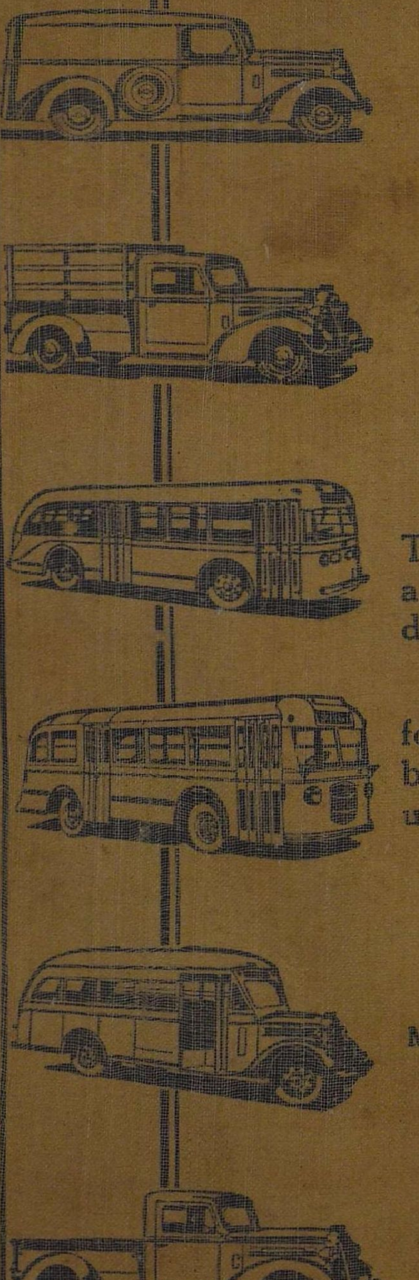

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